Brahmanic Settlements in Different Subdivisions of Ancient Bengal

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Author of *Contributions to the Economic History of Northern India from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century A.D.*

With a Foreword by

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FOREWORD

In this monograph Dr. Puspa Niyogi makes a serious attempt to reconstruct the forgotten history of the rise of the Brahmins in ancient Bengal, which originally lay outside the pale of Vedic civilisation. The earlier part of the episode will remain obscure and legendary in character unless new materials are available. The picture, however, grows brighter from the early centuries of the Christian era. By the 4th century A.D., support for Brahmanic culture had become such a popular cause that even private individuals purchased lands in exchange for gold to transfer them by gift to priests and scholars affiliated to different Vedic schools to enable them to carry on their religious and other duties. But it was not mere patronage, royal or private, which made the Brahmins of Bengal what they became ; the improvement of their position in subsequent centuries owed not a little to the pioneering spirit and initiative of the early settlers in disseminating their faith and rituals among the people with whom their lot was cast in the remote villages and outlying parts of the territory. Sometimes large numbers of Brahmins were made beneficiaries of land-grants in contiguous areas, which must have helped them in developing their organisational strength and resources. It will be a mistake to suppose that the Brahmins in ancient Bengal represented an intellectual and spiritual aristocracy with no materialistic base or aspirations. On the other hand, as the evidence critically compiled by Dr. Niyogi shows, the power of the Brahmin community as a whole was based no less on solid foundations of economic prosperity than on their intellectual superiority and devotion to religious pursuits. The Brahmins not only maintained a high tradition of learning and scholarship, but also produced statesmen and military generals whose services were appreciated by their masters, Brahmanical and Buddhist alike.

The interesting story of the Brahmanisation of Bengal in its various phases has been told in this handy volume, which is full of information of a detailed character, gleaned from different sources, specially epigraphical records, whose dates range between the 4th and the 13th century A.D. Although attempts in this direction were previously made by a few scholars, the present work provides an up-to-date and most systematic treatment of the subject. One feature of the book is the zonal standpoint from which the data compiled have been classified and studied with reference to each well-defined geographical milieu in which the forces behind

the growth of Brahmanical influence operated within the territory of Bengal. The value of this method will be increasingly realised with the advance of our knowledge of the sociological conditions prevailing in each such area through intensive research.

The author should be congratulated for the patience and industry with which details about the Brahmin families, their antecedents, genealogies and various activities, referred to in isolated records have been compiled and presented in chronological sequence in an orderly and intelligible form, accompanied by several charts, prepared with manifest care and precision. She has also given incidentally, within the limited field of her investigation, some information about Brahmin scholars of Bengal, invited from outside, and rewarded for their attainments, constructive abilities and integrity of character.

I believe, the book will be useful to all, interested in the study of the society and economy of ancient India, and also serve, for its wealth of historical data, as a valued supplement to anthropological and archaeological researches of specialised types.

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Benoy Chandra Sen

Preface

This book was written when I was working as a Senior Research Fellow under the University Grants Commission during 1964-1966. It was originally planned to form a portion of my book on Historical Geography of Eastern India which is in the process of being completed, but I am publishing it as an independent work for the present. In this monograph I have tried to show how the Brahmins gradually became a dominant element in the socio-economic life in ancient Bengal from the earliest times to about the end of the 13th century A.D.

I am grateful to Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Professor of Indology, Department of Post-Graduate Training and Research, Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta, for the trouble he ungrudgingly took in giving me his valuable advice and guidance throughout the preparation of this work. I offer my respectful thanks to Dr. Gaurinath Sastri, formerly Principal of this Institution, for his constant encouragement, as well as to its present Principal, Sri Kalicharan Sastri, for his kind interest in my research work.

I am indebted to my former teachers, Dr. D. C. Sircar, Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture and Dr. G. C. Raychaudhuri, Registrar, Calcutta University, for their kind help in obtaining facilities for research and teaching in Post-Graduate classes. I have to convey my sincere thanks to Dr. S. K. Mitra, Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian and World History, Sanskrit College for his invitation to deliver regular courses of lectures to his students during my tenure of the Fellowship, and also to Professor Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya, Editor, *Indian Studies : Past & Present*, for his generous offer to publish this book and the help he rendered in reading the proofs.

I had the great pleasure of receiving sincere co-operation from my young friend Miss Ruby Sen in preparing the Index.

To the University Grants Commission, Government of India, I am deeply indebted for the award of the Fellowship which was of vital help to me in completing and publishing this work.

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Puspa Niyogi

To the Memory

of

My Beloved Father

Dr. M. N. Niyogi

BRAHMANIC SETTLEMENTS IN DIFFERENT SUBDIVISIONS OF ANCIENT BENGAL

PUSPA NIYOGI

Progress of Brahmanisation

Bengal remained outside the pale of Vedic civilisation as late as the period of the *Brāhmaṇa*-s[1] There is a solitary and disparaging reference to Vaṅga in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka.*[2] Early Vedic writers seem to have regarded Bengal as a land unfit for Brahmins. The *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* prescribed punishment against Brahmins who visited the eastern lands of Puṇḍra, Vaṅga, etc.[3] According to the rule, set forth in this work, which names these lands, 'whoever had any occasion to go to any forbidden territories was strictly enjoined to perform the *Punastoma* or the *Sarvapṛṣṭha* sacrifice by way of penance, which would wipe away the stain due to such a visit.' (*Ārattān Kāraskarān Puṇḍrān Sauvīrān Vaṅgān Kaliṅgān Pranūnān iti ca gatvā Punastomena yajeta Sarvapṛṣṭhayā vā*). 'This was the view of the early Brāhmaṇa law-makers when the leaders of Vedic Brahmanism were staying in the eastern part of Brahmāvarta. Here one division of the Aryan developed the Vedic cult of fire, Indra and the great gods of the *Ṛgveda* ; here probably the later Brahmanic ideas of sacrifice took shape.[5] These Brahmins laid the foundations of Brahmanistic culture and religion of later times and they held an indifferent attitude towards Bengal.

In the *Ācāraṅga Sūtra*[6] Lāḍha and Subbha (Rāḍha and Suhma) are described 'as countries inhabited by wild and curlish people'. In the Buddhist canonical literature sixteen great countries of India are mentioned but with no reference to Bengal. Patañjali (2nd century B.C.) excludes the lower Ganges Valley from Āryāvarta which, according to him, was situated to the west of Kālakavana.[7] Manu[8] apparently includes Bengal in Āryāvarta which is defined by him as 'the

1. This view is refuted by Prof. H. C. Chakladar. He holds '.....that even in the early Vedic age, before the advent of the Brāhmaṇa literature, Eastern India was in the occupation of the Vedic Aryans.....' AOEI, 1.
2. AA, II. 1. 1, 200. In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* the Puṇḍras are mentioned for the first time. They are known to have played prominent part in the history of Bengal.
3. Cf. SHAIB, 21.
4. BDS, I. 1. 29 ; MGOLS, 12. 1. 14 ; SBE, xiv, 148.
5. Cf. ODBL, 239.
6. SBE, xxii (Jaina Sūtras, Part 1) 1,8,3, pp. 84-5.
7. Kielhorn's edition, i.475.
8. ii, 12-13 ; SBE, xxv. 33.

tract between those two mountains (Himavat and Vindhya), which extends as far as the eastern and the western oceans, the wise call Āryāvarta (the country of the Aryans).....' Early reference to Vaṅga occurs in a Jaina Upāṅga[9]. But in the *Mahābhārata* the territory of the Vaṅgas came into contact with the Pāṇḍavas.

Brahmin influence in Bengal

Though politically Bengal came into prominence in the 4th century B. C. there is little positive evidence of the progress of Brahmanisation of Bengal until the time of the imperial Guptas who established their political power in that region. The Guptas were zealous Brahmanists and they tried to settle the Brahmins in Bengal by substantial gifts of land. Steps were taken to settle pious Brahmins devoted to Vedic culture in Bengal. Private individuals also began to donate land to Brahmins, which they considered to be pious acts. It was largely through free gifts of land that learned Brahmins were attracted to settle in a land where the propagation of Brahmanic culture had not made much headway before.

The evidence of the Gupta inscriptions of the period shows definitely that Brahmins representing Vedic culture and religion were to be found in Bengal, as early as the middle of the 5th century A.D. Inscriptions dating from the reign of Kumāragupta I to the end of the 12th century reveal that Vedic scholars and priests were endowed with land to enable them to settle in the country permanently and carry out their religious duties.[10]

Vedic studies and practices in India

Gupta and post-gupta period :

The early inscriptions leave no doubt about the existence of a number of Brahmins in Bengal who were quite familiar with Vedic rites and rituals. It is interesting to note cases of Brahmins who were quite eager to settle in Bengal to carry on their religious and social duties. The Dhanāidaha copper-plate[11] inscription of the year 113 (=432-433 A.D.) records that a royal officer (an *āyuktaka*) purchased some cultivable land by paying the usual price to the government and made

9. IA, 1891, 375.
10. Cf. Vātsyāyana in his *Kāmasūtra* (v. 6. 38. 41) refers to Brāhmaṇas of Gauḍa and Vaṅga.
11. EI, xvii, pp. 345-48

a free gift of the same to a Brahmin named Varāhasvāmin of the *Sāmavedin* school. The Kalāikuri copper-plate inscription of the Gupta year 121 (=400-401 A.D.)[12] records the purchase of nine *kulyavāpas* of land at the rate of two *dīnāra*-s for each *kulyavāpa*, distributed in the villages of Hastiśīrṣa, Vibhītaka, Gubhyagandhikā[13] and Dhānyapāṭalikā which were later donated to three Brahmins of Puṇḍravardhana named Devabhaṭṭa, Amaradatta and Mahāsenadatta, for the purpose of enabling them to perform their *five daily sacrifices*. From the five copper-plate inscriptions[14] discovered from Damodarpur (Rajshahi Division) in North Bengal we come to know that a Brahmin named Karppaṭika requested according to *nīvidharma* a *kulyavāpa* of untilled *khila* land for his performance of *agnihotra* rites and in another instance was for the grant of a plot of waste land for the maintenance of his *five daily sacrifices* (*pañca-mahāyajña*-s). Both the applicants obtained the sanction of the government of Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti stationed at the headquarters in Koṭivarṣaviṣaya.

The Faridpur copper-plate grants of the 6th century A. D.[15] belonging to the reigns of Dharmāditya and Gopacandradeva shows that in Dhruvilāṭī in Vārakamaṇḍala Vedic studies were carried on and Vedic rituals practised by a Brahmin named Candrasvāmin of the Bharadvāja *gotra*, belonging to the *Vājasaneya* school as well as other Brahmins of the same school.[16] A Brahmin named Vatsasvāmin belonging to the *Bahvṛcśākhā* of the *Ṛgveda* of the Kauṇḍinya *gotra* was given some land as recorded in the Mallasārul copper-plate of the year 3[17] of the reign of Mahārāja Gopacandra. The land was purchased by Mahārāja Vijayasena. This gift was made to enable the donee to conduct the *five daily sacrifices*. Another case of a Brahmin applicant for land is come across in the Ghugrahāṭi copper-plate of the reign of Samācāradeva dated in the year 14.[18] He was Suprātīkasvāmin who wanted some waste land for his own settlement so that he might be able to engage himself in offering *bali, caru and sacrifices*.

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12. SHAIB, p. xii ; IHQ, xix (1943), pp. 1-6 ; cf. EI, xxxi, p. 57ff.
13. The name of the village is read as Gulmagandhikā in the Sultanpur copper-plate inscription, EI, xxxi, pp. 57ff.
14. EI, xv, p.113ff; cf. Nandapur inscription of the Gupta year 169.
15. IA, 1910, pp. 196 ff.
16. Cf. the undated Faridpur copper-plate of the reign of Dharmāditya.
17. EI, XXII, pp. 155-161 ; SPP, xliv. I, pp. 17ff.
18. *ibid*, XVIII, pp. 74ff.

Something like a Brahmin colony was founded as a result of the gift as recorded in the Tippera copper-plate grant of Lokanātha.[19] This gift was made at the request of a Mahāsāmanta to settle more than one hundred Brahmins versed in the four Vedas (*cāturvidya*). These Brahmins were expected to perform worship with *bali*, *caru*, etc. an image of Anaṅta-Nārāyaṇa installed in the temple in Suvvaṅgaviṣaya. The Vappaghoṣavata grant of Jayanāga[20] records the gift of a village to a *Sāmavedin* Brahmin named Brahmavīrasvāmin.

From C. 780 to the end of the Hindu period

Under the Pala kings :

Extension of Vedic culture in Bengal was made under the patronage of the Pāla Buddhist kings. It is interesting to note that most of the Buddhist Pāla kings granted land in favour of Brahmins well versed in Vedic studies and practices. Caturbhuja, the author of the *Haricarita*,[21] says that his ancestor Suvarṇarekha was a great scholar in the Vedic Saṃhitās, the Smṛti literature and the Purāṇas, received the grant of the village of Karañja[22] from king Dharmapāla. This village was noted for its distinguished Brahmin residents who were all well acquainted with the Vedas, Smṛtis and other branches of study. Suvarṇarekha's grandson Ācārya Divākara was versed in the three Purāṇas. If king Dharmapāla mentioned in this treatise was identical with the second Pāla Emperor then it will be seen that during his reign there were Brahmins in a certain part of Bengal, who were known for their knowledge of the Vedic lore. The Khalimpur copper-plate[23] records the donation of four villages to some Brahmins from Lāṭa. The Monghyr copper-plate[24] of Dharmapāla's son, Devapāla records, with an invocation to Buddha, the gift of a village to *Bhaṭṭa-pravara* Vihekarāta Miśra belonging to the *Āśvalāyana śākhā* of the *Ṛgveda*.

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19. EI, xv, pp. 301 ff. See Apendix I.
20. *ibid*, xviii, p. 60-64. This inscription is also known by the name of Mallia copper-plate.
21. Catalogue or Palm-leaf and selected Paper Manuscripts belonging to Durbar Library, Nepal (vol. I) by Mm. Haraprasad Sastri, p. 134.
22. The village of karañja is situated in Varendra—*ibid.*
23. EI, xv, pp. 243 ff.
24. EI, xvii, pp. 304 ff ; GLM, pp. 35 ff.

The Bādāl Pillar inscription[25] depicts an account of the many sided attainments of the Brahmin ministerial family of the early Pāla kings specially for its knowledge of Vedic literature. In this renowned family was born Darbhapāṇi, who was a minister of Devapāla ; while yet a young boy (*bāla evāyam*—v. i.) mastered the four Vedas (*caturvidyā-payonidhim*) ; his grandson Kedāramiśra was also a great scholar, held the same position under Devapāla and Śūrapāla. Devapāla was an ardent admirer of his learning, and Śurapāla often attended of his own accord the sacrifices performed by this Brāhmaṇa minister and bowed down his illustrious head 'in order to have on his head sprinkles of sacred sanctified water' (*yasyejyāsu...Śrī Śūrapāla...nṛpaḥ gatvaiva bhūyaḥ svayam | ...Śraddhambhaḥ-pluto-mānaso nata śirā jagrāha putaṃ payaḥ ||*). A member of the same family is referred to in the Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla[26] where Kedāramiśra's son Guravamiśra is described as an eminent scholar having mastered the Vedas, the Vedāṅgas and the Vedanta philosophy, with a thorough acquaintance with ritualistic processes. The same inscription refers to a grant of land made by the *Paramasaugata* king Nārāyaṇapāla 'for the suitable performance of *pūjā, bali, caru* and *sattra*, for the *navakarman* (i. e. repairs or extensions of the temple) and for other requirements of the temple of Śiva at Kalaśapota for whom Nārāyaṇapāla himself has built a *sahasrāyatana* (possibly a temple with thousand pillars)'.[27] From these inscriptions interesting information can thus be gathered regarding a Brahmin family of ministers well-known for their learning and proficiency in the four Vedas. They showed that Brahmanic rites and rituals used to be performed in Bengal during this period and that there were Brahmins in the land who were competent to conduct Vedic sacrifices.

In this context reference may be made to the *Chāndogya-pariśiṣṭa-prakāśa* of Nārāyaṇa belonging to the time of Devapāla. Its author was well acquainted with the Vedas. His predecessors[28] also are referred to as Vedic scholars. Nārāyaṇa mentions that Kāñjivilli, and Talavāṭī in Uttara-rāḍhā were Sacred to him because of the association of his family and relations with these places (*kulasthāna*). Thus showing that there were Brahmin families living in Uttara-rāḍha during this time and were respected for their scholarship in the Vedas.[29]

25. *ibid* ii, pp. 160 ff ; GLM, pp. 70 ff.
26. IA, xv, pp. 304 ff ; *ibid*, pp. 56 ff.
27. *ibid.*
28. Paritoṣa and Dharma are the two predecessors of Nārāyaṇa. The latter was well acquainted with Vedic rites and rituals.
29. India Office Catalogue (vol. I. Pt. I, No. 450) ; Dacca University MS No. 409.

There are a few more inscriptions of the Pāla dynasty which throw important light on the subject. The Jājilpāḍā copper-plate of the reign of Gopāla II[30] records the grant of two villages to Śrīdharaśarman belonging to the Mādhyandina branch of the *Vājasaneya* School ; the Bāngarh grant of Mahīpāla I[31] refers to the donee as a student of the *Vājasanyea* branch of the *Yajuraveda* ; the Āmgāchi grant of Vigrahapāla III[32] records the donation of a village to Khoduladevaśarman, a *Sāmavedin* Brahmin belonging to the Kauthumā school (Śāṇḍilya *gotra*) ; the Belwa plate[33] of the same king registers the grant of land to a Brahmin named Jayānandadeva, student of the *Pippalādaśākhā*. It is also mentioned in this copper-plate that he was a co-student of a Brahmin named Ananta of the Bharadvāja *gotra*. The Manahali copper-plate of the reign of Madanapāla[34] records the grant of some land to Vaṭeśvaraśvāmiśarman of Campāhiṭṭī. He belonged to the Kauthuma school of *Sāmaveda*.

Under the Chandra, Varman and Kamboja dynasties

Kings belonging to other dynasties also donated land to Brahmins. Śrīchandra of the Chandra dyansty of Bengal donated land to Brahmins on more than one occasion. Thus in this Rāmpāl copper-plate[35] and Dhullā copper-plate,[36] grant of land to the *Śāntivārika* (i. e. priest in charge of propitiatory ritet) is notified ; and in his Madanpur plate,[37] grant of land in favour of a Brahmin born in the family of three *Somapītin* Brahmins is mentioned. The priests in charge of propitiatory rites were held in high regards by Śrīchandra and granted lands to them as fee (*dakṣiṇā*) for the performance of their religious services. The Chandra records do not refer to the scholarships of the Brahmins in whose favour these donations were made. The Varmans refer to the scholarship of the Brahmin donees favoured by them. Thus in the Belava copper-plate of Bhojavarmadeva,[38] the donee Rāmadevaśarman, the *Sāntyagārādhikṛtāya* (Officer in charge of room where

30. IASB, xvii, p. 137-144,
31. EI, xiv, pp. 324-330.
32. *ibid*, xv, pp. 93ff.
3 . *ibid*, xxix, pp, 9-13.
34. GLM, pp. 104ff.
35. IB, pp. 1 ff.
6. *ibid*, pp. 16[illegible] ff.
37. EI, xxviii, pp. 51-8.
38. IB, pp. pp. 14ff.

propitiatory ceremonies were held) is spoken of as a student of the *Kāṇva śākhā* of the Yajurveda school of the Sāvarṇa *gotra*. The Bhuvaneswar Praśasti[39] refers to *Bhaṭṭa* Bhavadeva as the minister of Harivarman, who was born in the village of Siddhala in Rāḍhā. He also belonged to the Sāvarṇa *gotra*. *Bhaṭṭa* Bhavadeva was a great scholar and wrote on Mīmāṃsā Philosophy, Astronomy, Astrology and Smṛti. Two of his great works are Karmānuṣṭhāna-paddhati or Daśā-dīpikā-karma-paddhati and the Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa.

The priest in charge of propitiatory rites (*Śāntīvārika*) who figures in the Sāmantasār copper-plate grant was attached to the *Āśvalāyana śākhā* of the *Ṛgveda*.

The Irdā copper-plate of the Kamboja king Nayapāladeva[40] records the grant of some land to *paṇḍita* Aśvartthaśarman. He was an adherent of the *Chāndogya-caraṇa* and the Kauthuma *śākhā* of the Ṛgveda of the Vātsa *gotra*.

The Silimpur slab stone inscription of the time of Jayapāladeva (11th century A.D.)[41] does not glorify kings and ministers but a Brahmin born in an orthodox family of scholars who were accustomed to perform religious rites according to the injunctions of the *śāstras*. The 'family of Brāhmiṇs to which Prahāsa traces his descent had its residence at a place called Tarkāri which lay within the limits of Śrāvastī'. This family belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gotra* 'and that they observed domestic ceremonies in accordance with the rules of the Vedas and the Smṛtis, in which they were well versed.'[42] This inscription refers to another village named Bālagrāma which is stated to have been an 'offshoot of Tarkāri'. This village is also inhabited by Brahmin families 'all proud of their learning, lineage and practice of austerities'. Śrāvastī mentioned in this inscription may be located in North Bengal.[43]

Under the Sena kings :

In the 11th and 12th centuries Brahmanic culture made further anvance in Bengal under the patronage of the Sena kings. The Barrackpur copper-plate

39. ibid, pp, 25 ff.
40. EI, xxii, pp. 150-159.
41. ibid, xiii, pp. 83-95.
42. ibid.
43. ibid. ; IA, xlviii, 208-11 ; lx, 14-18 ; KS, p. 166.

of Vijayasena[44] refers to a ṚgVedic Brāhmaṇa named Udayakara-devaśarman who was a recipient of royal favour, whose great-grandfather Ratnākara-devaśarman was originally an immigrant from the Madhyadeśa. At the time of gift the family seems to have been residing at Kāntijoṅgī, probably in Bengal on the occasion of the Golden *Tulapuruṣa* gift ceremony, performed by the *Mahādevī* Vilāsadevī during a lunar eclipse. Vijayasena's son Vallālasena in the Naihāṭi copper-plate made a donation of land to a scholar-teacher, *Ācārya* Ovasudevaśarman of the Kauthuma school of Sāmaveda.[45] Several cases of land-grant by Vallālasena's son Lakṣmaṇasena are known from his inscriptions. The recipient, *Śāntyāgārika* Kṛṣṇadhara-devaśarman mentioned in the Sundarban copper-plate[46] was a student of the Āśvalāyana *śākhā* of the *Ṛgveda*; the donee in the Ānuliā copper-plate[47] was a scholar (*Paṇḍita*) named Raghu-devaśarman who belonged to the *Kāṇva* branch of the Yajurveda school ; the donee in the Madhāinagar grant[48] was a *Śāntyāgarika* Govinda-devasārman by name, who was connected with the Paippalāda branch of the Atharvaveda. Besides Brahmins belonging to the *kauthuma* recension of the Sāmaveda also received grants from Lakṣmanaseṇa, as recorded in his Govindapur,[49] Saktipur,[50] Tarpandīghi[51] and the India office copper-plates.[52] Lakṣmaṇasena seems to have been specially fond of Brahmins belonging to the *Kauthuma* School of Sāmaveda as the number of grants made by him to such Brahmins is greater than those received from him by those of other Vedic schools.

After Lakṣmaṇasena, as shown in the Madanpāḍā grant of Viśvarūpasena[53] and the Edilpur copper-plate of Keśavasena[54] lands were granted to *Nītipāṭhakas* (recitors from the *Nīti Śāstra*). The Calcutta Sahitya Pariṣat copper-plate of Viśvarūpasena[55] assigning plots of land to Halāyudha-devaśarman belonging to the *Kāṇva* branch of the Yajurveda. Besides the Senas and other rulers whose gifts have been already noted mention may be made of Īśavaraghoṣa of the Ramganj copper-plate[56] which records the gift of a village to *Bhaṭṭa* Nibbokaraśarman, a student of Yajurveda. The Chittagong copper-plate of Dāmodara[57] also records

44. IB, 57.
45. ibid, pp. 68ff.
46. ibid, pp. 169 ff.
47. ibid, pp. 81ff.
48. ibid, pp, 106ff.
49. ibid, pp. 92fl.
50. EL, xxi, pp. 211-19.
51. IB, pp. 99 ff.
52. EI, xxvi, pp. 1-13.
53. IB, pp. 132ff.
54. ibid, pp. 118ff.
55. ibid, pp. 140 ff.
56. ibid, pp. 149 ff.
57. ibid, pp. 58ff.

grant of land to a Yajurvedin Brahmin. Again the Adāvāḍī copper-plate of Daśarathadeva[58] records grant of land to a number of Brahmins whose names are as follows :—Sandhyākara, Śrīmākri, Śrīśakra, Śrīsugandha, Śrīsoma, Śrīvādya, Srīpaṇḍita, Śrīmāṇḍī, Śrīrāma, Śrīledhu, Śrīdakṣa, Śrībhaṭṭa, Śrībāli, Śrīvāsudeva, Śrīmiko.

The donees in the different land-grants referred to above are not in all cases described as Vedic scholars. Thus the donees appearing in the Madanapāḍā inscription of Viśvarūpasena[59] and the Edilpur grant pf Keśavasena[60] are not mentioned as Vedic scholars. But in the Calcutta Sāhitya Parişat copper-plate[61] the donee Halāyudha is described as connected with the *Kāṇva* branch of the Yajurveda.

While giving details regarding the Vedic connections of the Brahmin donees, the relevant inscriptions in some instances refer to the rites performed by them at the invitation of their royal patrons concerned. Sometimes the particular rites performed by the Brahmin donees are named. Thus in the Dhullà copper-plate of Śrīchandra[62] it is stated that the *Śāntivārika* (priest in charge of propitiatory rites) Vyāsagaṅga-Śarman conducted the *Adbhutaśānti* ceremony, on the occasion of the *Homacatuṣṭaya* (or the Four *Homas*) ; the Barrackpur copper-plate[63] of Vijayasena says that Udayakaradeva-śarman, conducted the Golden *Tulāpuruṣa* gift ceremony performed by the *Mahādevī* Vilāsadevī during a lunar eclipse ; in the Tarpandīghi copper-plate[64] mention again is made of the *Hemāśvamahādāna* ceremony ; in the Mādhāinagar copper-plate of Lakṣmaṇasena[65] reference is made to the *Aindri Mahāśānti* ceremony on the occasion of the *Mūlabhiṣeka* ; besides these ceremonies the Brahmin also knew how to conduct the,coronation and other ceremonies.

Epigrapoic evidence thus bears eloquent testimony to the fact that from at least the 5th century A. D. the field for the Brahmanisation of Bengal increasingly widened as a result of the practical interest taken in the matter by getting scholars of the different Vedas through gifts of plots of land and even villages. The light of Vedic culture began to radiate from these settlements, and people became familiar with Vedic rituals and ceremonies and the Brahmanical social system which began to exercise its characteristic influence in moulding their lives and habits.

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58. IB, pp. 181ff.
59. ibid, pp. 132ff.
60. ibid, pp. 118ff.
61. ibid, pp. 140ff.
62. ibid, pp. 165ff.
63. ibid, pp. 57ff.
64. ibid, pp. 99ff.
65. ibid, pp. 106ff.

Royal encouragement made the progress of this Brahmanisation possible to a great extent.

Settlement of Brāhmaṇas :

Grants were made not only to individual Brahmins, as we have seen above from the time of the Guptas to the end of the 12th century A. D. Sometimes the recepients of gifts formed a large assemblage of Brahmins. Thus in the Tippera copper-plate inscription of Lokanātha[66] there is an interesting reference to a settlement of *Caturvidya* (versed in the four Vedas) Brahmins whose number exceeded one hundred. A similar account is furnished by the Nidhanpur copper-plate of Bhāskaravarman[67] which refers to an area where provisions were made for settling 205 Brahmins belonging to various *gotras* and *śākhā*- at a place to be located in Sylhet (now in Pakistan).[68] In the Gupta period influential persons also purchased lands for purpose of donations. Thus in the Damodarpur copper-plate of the time of Buddhagupta dated in the Gupta yeār 163[69] it is recorded that the *Grāmika* Nābhaka expressed his desire to purchase some uncultivated land from a village called Caṇḍagrāma 'to provide residence for some prominent Brahmins'. There are similar cases in the post-Gupta period. In the Mallasārul copper-plate of the reign of *Mahārāja* Gopacandra, dated in the year 3[70] there is a reference to purchase of land by *Mahārāja* Vijayasena, and a gift of the same land to Vatsasvāmin of the *Ṛg-vedic* School and in the Faridpur copper-plate[71] land was purchased by Vatsapālasvāmin and gifted to *Bhaṭṭa* Gomidattasvāmin.

Acquisition of land by the Brāhmaṇas :

Not only gifts of land attracted the Brahmins but from early times Brahmins acquired land on their own for settlement and other purposes. In the Damodarpur copper-plate dated in the Gupta year 124[72] it is recorded that a Brahmin named Karppaṭika requested one *kulyavāpa* of land 'for convenient performance of his *agnihotra* rites.' Similarly, in the Ghughrahāṭi grant[73] we find a Brahmin named Supratikasvāmin praying for a piece of waste land for his own settlement so that he might be able to offer *bali, caru and sacrifices.* In both the cases the requests were granted. Acquisition of land by a different method is recorded in the Calcutta

66. EI, XV, pp. 301ff.—see Appendix I.
67. ibid, XII, pp. 73-6
68. Sheet attached in the end, see Appendix II.
69. EI, XV, pp. 113ff.
70. EI, XXIII, pp. 155-161.
71. IA, 1910, pp. 193ff.
72. EI, XV, pp. 113ff.
73. ibid, XVIII, pp. 77ff.

Sahitya Parişat copper-plate of Viśvarūpasena.[74] In this inscription mention is made of grant of eleven plots of land to the Brahmin donee, Halāyudha. Out of these plots, Halāyudha purchased some of them and had them donated to him from princes and ministers with the king's ratification as shown by the use of the royal seal. It is evident that a royal assignment carried greater security than those obtained by purchase or gift.[75]

Forest lands :

Some inscriptions refer to grant of untilled waste lands and even forest lands. This may be due to the fact that Brahmins under royal or individual patronage sometimes wanted to form new settlements of their own where it was easier for them to carry on their religious activities and also develop available material resources for their livelihood.[76] Brahmins themselves occasionally bought waste lands for their own habitation.[77] A settlement of Brahmins versed in the four Vedas is mentioned to have grown in an eastern most region which was outside the pale of human habitation, 'infested by wild animals and poisonous reptiles, and covered with forest out-growths (*mṛga-mahiṣa-varāha-vyāghra-sarīsṛp-ādibhir-yathecchham=anubhūyamāna...gahana-gulma-latā vitāne*,...ll 21-22).[78] Grants of waste land and forest lands reclamed and made fit being thus looked after with care led to economic as well as cultural progress.

In the earlier inscriptions the practice was to give only the name of the donee, in later inscriptions those belonging to the reigns of the Pāla kings, names of three generation were included, while subseuuently, in the land-grants of the Sena dynasty additional details about the antecedents of the donees were incorporated. Though details about ancestry and whereabouts are lacking in the earlier inscription, those

74. IB, pp. 140ff. 75. Cf. EHNI, p. 64.

76. 'The things that attracted the Vedic Indian in his onward movements, the things that he looked for in selecting a site for a new settlement, were primarily those providing facilities for his daily worship, for paying his daily homage to the gods, in his particular method of making offerings in fire.....for this purpose he needed water, fuel and milk and its products in abundance. The luxuriant Indian forests extending in every direction supplied him abundantly with fire-wood (samidh)...!' AOEI

77. EI, xv, pp. 113ff ; xviii, pp. 74-87.

78. ibid, xv, pp. 301ff.

who were favoured with land-grants in the Gupta period possibly came from the Madhyadeśa, which was under the political domination of the Imperial Guptas. By the time Pālas established their rule the Brahmanic element in the population must have grown relatively strong. The arrivals of Brahmins possibly from outside helped the growth of Vedic culture in Bengal in common with the rest of the empire.

Brahmins in high posts

Brahmins were not only endowed with grants of land to enable them to carry on their cultural and religious activities but some of them were also offered high administrative posts. The influence of such dignitaries whose power was based no less on military strength than scholarship was a factor that must have encouraged the spread of Brahmanic learning and ritualism in regions which came under their authority. The Tippera copper-plate of Lokanātha[79] refers to a Brahmin feudatory of the rank of Mahāsāmanta named Pradoṣasarman who wielded a great influence on his chief who at his request made a gift of an extensive area 'for the maintenance of the daily worship of the god Ananta-Nārāyaṇa as well as habitation of more than one hundred Brahmins. This instance seems to illustrate the manner in which political and administrative authority could deliberately work for the extension of Brahmanism in selected localities. Brahmin ministers of the early Pālas rendered valuable services in expanding their political power. The Bangaon plate of Vigrahapāla III mentions a Brahmin officer of the king named Ghantiśa (*Vidheya*) making a donation out of his own land to the Brahmin Ghaṇṭukasarman.[80] Thus with royal patronage secured through official influence of the Brāhmins or through personal gifts by Brahmins of high position, pious and scholarly members of the caste received material help in getting themselves settled in a convenient manner enabling them to act as successful agents for the propagation of orthodox Brahmanic culture. Their influence was so great that even such a powerful king as Devapāla had to wait at the gate of his minister, Darbhapāni for an interview with him. (*Tasthau Śrī-Devapālo nṛpatir-avasar-apekṣayā dvāri yasya*). The next verse records the important fact that this king first offered him 'a chair of state' before seating himself on the throne.

A. K. Maitreya[81] holds that the Pālas were most anxious to pay homage to these ministers and to do nothing that might displease them for the simple

79. EI, xv, pp. 301 ff.
80. ibid, xxix, pp. 48-57.
81. GLM, p. 79n.

reason that they were the leaders of the people who had elected Gopāla I to the throne. This wiew has been criticised by Dr. B. C. Sen[82] who points out that 'there is no evidence in this inscription to support the view that these ministers had their power based in a constitutional sense on popular support or that they owed their allegiance or were responsible to any group of people or institution except the king.' According to him one of the most apparent causes of their influence was their learning, which to judge from the internal data of the Bādāl Pillar inscription, must have been of an outstanding character ; another cause was their wealth which must have secured for them a large following, and the third factor that contributed to their success in the affairs of the state was their efficiency as soldiers.'

The official influence of a family of Brahmins extending over some generations is evidenced by the Bhuvanesvar Praśasti of *Bhaṭṭa* Bhavadeva,[83] all of whose ancestors, mentioned in the inscription are claimed to have been men of great learning. One of them received the *śāsana* of Hastinibhiṭṭa from an unnamed king of Gauḍa. Ādideva, grandfather of Bhavadeva was a minister of war and peace of the king of Vaṅga. His son was Govardhana distinguished as a warrior and scholar. His son was Bhavadeva, a minister of peace and war.

Vedic scholars and writers of Bengal:

Amongst the Brahmin settlers in Bengal there appear to have been not a few who were learned in the Vedas and were proficient in the performance of the Vedic sacrifices. Their knowledge was converted to their descendants and pupils. The Brahmins of Bengal were not satisfied merely by memorising the Vedas[84] in the conventional manner but also 'felt the necessity of a system of interpretation' and also of a commentary for their guidance. It is not definitely known when the work of interpretation first began. Haraprasad Sastri is of the opinion that an early interpreter of the Vedas was Nugaḍācārya.[85] Halāyudha (12th century A. D.) in

82. SHAIB, p. 532. 83. IB, pp. 25 ff.

84. 'The mode of study differed widely from that of other provinces where they memorised the Vedas or at least the Veda which they professed. But they cared very little for the meaning. In Bengal, however, the Brahmanas never memorised even one of the Vedas. They memorised only such of the *Mantras* as were used in their religious performances, but insisted on knowing their meaning'—Haraprasad Sastri, JBORS, V, p. 172.

85. JBORS, V, p. 172 ; IHQ, VI, pp. 782-785.

his Brāhmaṇa Sarvasva acknowledges his indebtedness to him and holds that he is 'the first interpreter of Vedic selections.' Nugaḍācārya is referred to by many of his followers. He also inspired many later writers such as Hālayudha, Gunaviṣṇu, etc. His very existence is however, doubted by many.

Another Vedic scholar of less repute is Nārāyaṇa, son of Goṇa and grandson of Umapati. He was a contemporary of king Devapāla of the Pāla dynasty and his grandfather accepted *Mahādāna* in the *Śrāddha* ceremony of Jayapāla, brother of Dharmapāla. He composed a work on Vedic rituals known as Chāndogya-pariśiṣta-prakāśa.

Another early Vedic scholar and statesman was Gurvamiśra, who was a minister of king Nārāyaṇapāla. If he himself wrote any work, it is not yet available to us. But the Garuḍa Pillar inscription[86] says that he was known for his exposition of different branches of ancient literature and 'expounded the Vedas in books of moral tales' and was like a 'a Valmiki of the kali age.' Such statements show that he must have been a writer also in the field of Vedic literature. In the Bhagalpur inscription of Nārāyanapāla[87] the king is said to have been an admirer of Gurvamiśra's 'wealth of speech, his knowledge of the Āgamas, the Vedas, Jyotisa' or Astronomy, etc.

Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva was long associated with king Harivarman of the Varman dynasty. He wrote books on Brahmādvaita[88] system of Philosophy, Dharmaśāstra, Sāmavedic rites and ceremonies etc. He was the son of Govardhana, a scholar. His ancestors were all learned men and resided at Siddhalagrāma at Rāḍhā.[89]

Aniruddha *Bhaṭṭa* was the preceptor (*guru*) of king Vallālasena who pays tribute to his scholarship in his book entitled, Dāna-sāgara. This work, as its royal author admits, was completed under his supervision (*guroḥ śikṣayā*).[90] Aniruddha *Bhaṭṭa* came from Varendra. He is the reputed author of two standard works on rituals, Hāralatā and Pitṛ-dayita.

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86. GLM, p. 26, V. 25.
87. ibid, p. 62.
88. cf, chāndogya-karmānuṣṭhāna-paḍḍhati, MS. in the Sanskrit College Library, No. 52.
89. cf, IB, pp. 25 ff; EI, VI, pp. 203 ff.
90. Raghunandana believes that Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa was the author of Dāna-sāgara.

Another Vedic scholar of distinction was Guṇaviṣṇu, son of Dāmuka. He was probably a contemporary of Vallālasena and enjoyed his patronage. His work *Chāndogya-mantrabhāṣya*[91] is divided into eight sections dealing mainly with Vedic Mantras used in Gṛhya-rites by the Sāmavedins.

The most important writer of this group was undoubtedly *Bhaṭṭa* Halāyudha. He was a scholar-administrator[92] of high rank. His well-known contribution is *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*, in the introduction of which he gives some autobiographical information. His father Dhanañjaya was also a judge. His brothers, Īśāna and Paśupati also wrote on topics connected with rituals. His other works are *Mīmāṃsā-sarvasva*, *Vaiṣṇava-sarvasa*, *Śaiva-sarvasva* and *Paṇḍita-sarvasva*. Halāyudha, not pleased with the condition of Vedic learning amongst the Brahmins of Rāḍhā and Varendra of his time who were backward in the performance of Brahmanical rites, wrote the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* to remedy the situation.

Bengali Brahmins honoured outside :

Some Vedic scholars of ancient Bengal are known for their activities in territories outside Bengal. One of them was Gadādhara who made his influence felt in the Deccan. He is described in the Kolagallu inscription[93] as 'an ascetic belonging to the Śāṇḍilya *gotra*' and as a 'crest-jewel of the Gauḍa country'. Verse 14 of the inscription tells us that 'he was born in the village of Taḍā and that he was the illuminator of the Varendri country'. He was entrusted with the administration of the realm of the god Kārtikeya which came to be called 'Kārtikeya-tapovona'. He installed many images of different gods and goddesses and also constructed a temple at Kolagallu.

Another such scholar was the Śaiva teacher named Viśveśvara Śambhu. According to the Malkapuram Stone Pillar Inscription[94] he hailed from Pūrvāgrāma in Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā. In the 13th century A.D. he became the High Priest of the *Golakī maṭha*, in the Dāhala-maṇḍala, in the region between the Narmadā and

91. Ed. by Durga Mohan Bhattacharya, SPS, No. 19. Calcutta.
92. He was the chief judge and minister of king Lakṣmaṇasena ; cf. Our Heritage, Vol. III, Pt. II, pp. 211-220.
93. EI, xxi, 260-64 ; IMP, I, 265, No. 82.
94. JAHRS, iv. 158-162, IMP, II, 938 No. 316.

the Bhāgīrathī. He was an influential member of the court of the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati, who adorned his 'Hall of Learning'. As a priest he initiated Gaṇapati and also a king of the Kalachuri dynasty of Tripurī. Amongst his disciples were a Chola king and a Malava king.

Two villages were given to this high priest, viz. Mandara and Velaṅgapuṇḍi. Out of the endowment Viśveśvara Śambhu built a temple, a monastery, a college, a maternity home, a hospital, etc. and called the whole organisation *Viśveśvara-golakī* after his name. He settled there sixty families of Drāvīḍa Brāhmaṇas in the two villages and granted 120 *puttis* of land for their maintenance. The remainder of the land was kept for the use of the temple and the associated institutions built by him. Eight professors were appointed for the college out of whom three for teaching the *Ṛkc, Yojur* and *Sāma* Vedas respectively. Various appointments were also made for running the other establishments. Amongst those appointed by him there were some Sāmaveda Brahmins of the Śrīvatsa *gotra* who had to look after income and expenditure. These Brahmins were selected by the high priest from his native village, Pūrvā-grāma in Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā.

We may conclude this section with a brief reference to two eminent Brahmins of Bengal who distinguished themselves in the field of Buddhist scholarship. Foremost mention is deserved by Śīlabhadra, a member of the Brahmin Royal family of Samataṭa as mentioned by Hiuen Tsang.[95] He was a pupil of Dharmapāla at the University of Nālandā of which he later became the head. He is the author of *Āryabuddha-bhūmi-vyākhyāna.* Another Bengali Brahmin scholar[96] intimately connected with the Vikramaśīla monastery was Jetāri (his Tibetan name was dGra-las-rgyal-ba). He belonged to Varendra. His father, Garbhapāda, was a Brāhmin *ācārya* and a religious teacher of king Sanātana who is described by Tāranātha as a king of Varendra. Jetāri took to Buddhism and became a recognised scholar of Buddhism at the Vikramaśīla Vihāra. He wrote many books on Tantra and Sūtra.

95. Watters, II, 109-110 ; cf. Beal, Life, 106, 112, 153, 160, 165.
96. Tāranātha, 230-3 ; Sum-pa 116.

The Ganges and the Brahmaputra with their main branches broadly divided ancient Bengal into several distinct parts, inhabited by people of different tribal affiliations. The names of people and the territories occupied by them were identical. Possibly the earliest Brahmin settlements were in its northern districts.

North

Koṭivarṣa

In early inscriptions North Bengal is denoted by the name Puṇḍravardhana. It included Mahāsthān in the Bogra district. The other portions of Puṇḍravardhana as known from inscriptional sources were the districts of Malda, Dinajpur, Rajshahi as well as portions of the Rangpur districts, situated to the west of the river Karatoyā.[1] Mahāsthān, in the Bogra district, seems to have been known by the name Puṃḍanagala (i.e. Puṇḍranagara) in the 3rd century B.C.[2] During the time of the Sena kings of Bengal the term Pauṇḍravardhana mentioned in their inscriptions denoted a larger area in which were included parts of eastern and southern Bengal.[3] Varendrī and Gauḍa were integral portions of Puṇḍravardhana (*Madhyadeśotha-Puṇḍrāḥsyur-Varendrī-Gauḍa-nīvṛti*).[4]

Available inscriptions show that plots of land and also sometimes whole villages were granted to Brahmins in northern Bengal in early times beginning from the 5th century A.D. Thus the Dhanāidaha copper-plate inscription[5] of the reign of Kumāragupta dated in the (Gupta) year 113 (=433 A.D.) refers to a grant of a *kulyavāpa* of land to a Sāmavedin Brahmin named Vāraha-svāmin in the Khādā(ṭā)-pāra *viṣaya* of Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti*. The location of the *viṣaya* (district) is doubtful. The inscription was found in the Natore subdivision of Rajshahi district. This is the earliest epigraphic reference to a donation of land to a Brahmin in Bengal. The Dāmodarpur plates[6] record either sales or gifts of land in the same *bhukti* to which belonged Koṭivarṣa. One copper-plate from Dāmodarpur of the reign of Kumāragupta I dated in the (Gupta) year 124 (=444 A.D.) records the sale by the king of one *kulyavāpa* of land to a Brahmin named Karppaṭika

1. Cf. SHAIB, p. 106.
2. EI xxi, p. 83 ff; IHQ, ix, p. 722 ff; x, p. 57 ff.
3. Cf. SHAIB, p. 56 ; SI, p. 291 n.
4. *Tṛkāṇḍaśeṣa*, p. 15 ; cf. GAMI, pp. 114-115.
5. EI xvii, pp. 345-48.
6. ibid, xv, p. 113 ff.

devoted to the performance of the *agnihotra* rites. Another dated in the (Gupta) year 128 (=448-449 A.D.) records a private grant of land to a Brahmin (measuring one *kulyavāpa*) for the performance of *pañca-mahāyajñas*. A copper-plate dated in the (Gupta) year 163 (?) (=483 A.D.) of the Dāmodarpur series, belonging to the time of Budha-gupta, similarly records purchase of land in Caṇḍagrāma by a village official, *grāmika* Nābhaka, whose object was to provide a dwelling place for some Brahmins.

The Pāla rulers of Bengal are also known to have made gifts of land in Koṭivarṣa-*viṣaya*. Mahīpāla I of the Pāla dynasty gave to Kṛṣṇāditya-Śarman, son of *Bhaṭṭaputra* Madhusūdana and grandson of *Bhaṭṭaputra* Hṛṣikeśa of the Parāśara *gotra*, the village of Kuraṭa-pallikā in the Gokalikā-*maṇḍala* of this *viṣaya* (*Koṭivarṣa-viṣaya Gokalikā-maṇḍala āntaḥpāti*...11. 30-31). The donee was a student of Vājasaneyī branch of Yajurveda.[7] The gift-land mentioned in the Āmgāchi grant of Vigrahapāla III[8] was situated in the village of Viṣamapura in the Brāhmaṇī-grāma-*maṇḍala* another, part of Koṭivarṣa-*viṣaya* (*Koṭivarṣa-viṣay-āntaḥ-pāti-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇī-grāma-maṇḍala*, 11. 24-25) and was granted to the Brahmin named Khoduladeva-Śarman of the Kauthuma school of Sāmaveda, son of Arkadeva and grandson of Padmavanadeva of the Śāṇḍilya *gotra*. The Manahali plate of Madanapāla[9] is concerned with the royal gift of some land in the Halāvartta-*maṇḍala* of Koṭivarṣa-*viṣaya* to Vaṭeśvarasvāmī-Śarman, son of Śaunakasvāmī, grandson of Prajāpatisvāmī and great grandson of Vatsasvāmī, as a fee for reciting the *Mahābhārata* to the chief queen (*Paṭṭamahādevī*), Citramatikā. The donee belonged to the Kauthuma school of Sāmaveda.

It is thus shown that Brahmins were encouraged to form settlements in the villages noted above which were situated in the *maṇḍalas* (subdivisions) of Gokalikā, Halāvartta and Brāhmaṇīgrāma of the district of Koṭivarṣa. The Brahmins settled in the above mentioned villages mostly belonged to the Kauthuma school of Sāmaveda.

Hemacaṇdra and Puruṣottamadeva[10] place Koṭivarṣa in Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti*[11] and gave it the names Devīkoṭa, Bāṇapura, Umāvana and Śoṇitapura.

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7. EI, xiv, p. 324 ff.
8. ibid, xv, 293 ff.
9. GLM, p. 147 ff ; JASB, 1900, pp. 66-73.
10. *Tṛkāṇḍaśesa*, p. 16. (*Devīkoṭo Bāṇapuraṃ Koṭivarṣam Uṣa (ma ?)vanaṃ / syāt-Śoṇitapuraṃ c=ā'ha*...).
11. Koṭivarṣa was sometimes placed in Rāḍha (West Bengal), cf, SHAIB, p. 106 n ; GAMI, p. 191n.

The capital of this *viṣaya* was Devīkoṭa (mediaeval Diw-koṭ). One of the names of this area (Koṭivarṣa), as mentioned above, was Bāṇapura. This name survives in the present form Bāngarh, which is the name of a village in the district of Dinajpur. A copper-plate grant of Mahīpāla I was discovered at Bāngarh. According to R. G. Basak[12] Koṭivarṣa-*viṣaya* may be identified 'with the tract of country constituting the northern part of the modern district of Rajshahi and the southern part of Dinajpur, including also perhaps a portion of the district of Malda and Bogra'. In the opinion of B. C. Sen the area of Koṭivarṣa may have gradually extended to comprise the southern portion of the Dinajpur district, the northern part of Rajshahi and probably also the eastern tracts of the Bogra district.[13]

Although the identification of some of the places mentioned in the above inscriptions remains either unknown or doubtful, it is definitely known that they were all in Koṭivarṣa-*viṣaya* of Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti*. For example, the village Caṇḍagrāma mentioned in the Dāmodarpur plate[14] cannot be satisfactorily identified. It may be doubtfully located in the Dinajpur district close to *Palāśa-vṛndaka*. The village Vāyigrāma, however, may be identified with the modern Baigram, not far from the boundary between the districts of Dinajpur and Bogra.[15]

Varendra

Varendra formed an integral part of the *bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana or Pauṇḍravardhana (a name which came into use later) in North Bengal.[16] It comprised almost 'the whole of the Rajshahi division, including a portion of the Pabna district.'[17] In the *Rāmacarita*, Sandhyākara Nandī writes : 'Varendra-maṇḍala forms the best part of the world, of which Puṇḍravardhanapura occupies the crown-jewel. It is a sacred place where many highly learned Brahmins live.' Inscriptions of the Senas show that they took a great interest in endowing Brahmins of different Vedic schools with lands in Varendra with a view to encouraging their pursuit of knowledge and performance of religious duties. Thus in the Tarpana-dighi grant of Lakṣmaṇasena[18] mention is made of the gift of a village named

12. HNEI, p. 51.
13. SHAIB, p. 107.
14. EI, xv, p. 113 ff.
15. SHAIB, pp. 108-109.
16. Cf. *Tṛkāṇḍaśeṣa*, p. 15.
17. SHAIB, p. 112.
18. IB, p. 99 ff.

Velahiṣṭī, measuring 120 *āḍhāvāpas* and 5 *unmānas* and yielding 150 *kapardaka-purāṇas*, to the Brahmin donee, Īśvaradeva-Śarman of the Kauthuma school of Sāmaveda. He was the son of Lakṣmīdharadeva-Śarman, grandson of Mārkaṇḍeyadeva-Śarman and great grandson of Hutāśanadeva-Śarman of the Bhāradvāja *gotra*. In his Mādhāinagar grant[19] also mention is made of the gift of another village of Dāpaṇiyā-pāṭaka situated near Kāntāpura, measuring 100 *bhū-khāḍīs* and 91 *khāḍikās* and yielding 168 *kapardaka-purāṇas*. The donee was a *Śāntyāgārika* Govindadeva-Śarman of the Paippalāda branch of the Atharvaveda, son of Kumāradeva-Śarman, grandson of Rāmadeva-Śarman and great grandson of Dāmodaradeva-Śarman of the Kauśika *gotra*.

Earlier, the Silimpur slab-stone inscription of the time of Jayapāladeva[20] speaks of the village of Bālagrāma as 'the ornament of the land of Varendrī' which was inhabited by many Brahmin families 'all proud of their learning, lineage and practice of austerities'. Śiyamva(ba) was another village in the neighbourhood of Bālagrāma. Some of the *paṇḍita* families of Bālagrāma migrated to this neighbouring village. The third village in this record was Tarkāri situated 'within the limits of Śrāvastī'. It is supposed to be the native village of Prahāsa in whose honour the inscription was recorded. The two villages of Bālagrāma and Tarkāri are separated by the river Sakaṭī. The three villages mentioned in this record appear to have been situated close to one another and were inhabited by learned Brahmin families.

The above account shows certain localities in Varendra distinguished for their Brahmanic affiliations, such as Velahiṣṭī, Dāpaṇiyā-pāṭaka, Kāntāpura, Bālagrāma, Śiyamva(ba), Tarkāri, etc. Kāntāpura may be identified with Kāntanagara of the Dinajpur district.[21] Dāpaṇiyā-pāṭaka was situated near Kāntāpura.[22]

Names of Brahmins receiving land-grants in Varendra together with their respective *gotra*-names may be noted here. The Brahmin family of the Silimpur slab-stone inscription (11th century A.D.) belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gotra*. The family account begins with Paśupati from whom the donee Prahāsa was separated by six generations. The association of this family with Varendra goes back even before the time of Paśupati, i.e. about the end of the 9th century A.D. Prahāsa was a distinguished scholar in *Tarka* (Logic), *Tantra* and *Dharmaśāstra*. As it seems

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19. ibid, p. 106 ff.
20. EI, xiii. pp. 283-95.
21. Cf. HB, p. 20.
22. Cf. IB, p. 106. N. K. Bhattasali mentions three Dāpaṇiyās situated near Pabna; JRASB; 1924; p. 21 ff.

to have been a well established family in Varendra, its genealogy is presented below :

Paśupati
1
Sāhila
1
Manoratha
1
Sucarita
1
Taponidhi
1
Kārttikeya
1
Prahāsa

Incidentally it may be mentioned that a Brahmin family of the Śāṇḍilya *gotra* residing in Varendra figures in the Bādal pillar (at the village called Haragaurī, about three miles from Bādal in the District of Dinajpur) inscription.[23] The family originated from Viṣṇu but the account as shown below opens with Vīradeva and closes with Guravamiśra, seventh in descent from him. Guravamiśra was a minister of Nārāyaṇapāla. The name of the immediate ancestor of Garga, third in descent from Vīradeva, was Pāñcāla. This may suggest his connection with Kanauj. This family was one of outstanding importance in the history of the Pālas for having produced an uninterrupted line of ministers, scholars and statesmen :

Vīradeva
1
Pāñcāla
1
Garga
1
Darbhapāṇi
1
Someśvara
1
Kedāramiśra
1
Guravamiśra

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23. EI, ii, pp. 160-169.

A Brahmin family of Varendra belonging to the Kāśyapa *gotra* is known from the *Haricaritakāvya* composed by Caturbhuja (A. D. 1493) who was an inhabitant of the village Karañja situated in Vareddra (*Śrīmān Karañja iti Vandyatamo Varendryām*).[24] One of his ancestors, Suvarṇarekha was a reputed scholar in the *Vedas* and the *Purāṇas*. It was he who obtained the village Karañja as a grant from a king named Dharmapāla, who is generally identified with the Pāla king of this name, son and successor of Gopāla I. The genealogy of this family as shown below is carried down to Caturbhuja who was a son of Nityānanda, described as a *Kavīndra*, i.e. prince of poets, who compiled a work entitled *Smṛtikaumudī* :—

Suvarṇarekha
1
Bhuṇḍu
1
Divākara
1
Nityānanda
1 —— 1
Śivadāsa Caturbhuja

No mention is to be found in the genealogical accconts i.e. *Kulapañjikās* of the Brahmin families of different *gotras*, Śāṇḍilya, Bhāradvāja, and Kāśyapa[25] as known from inscriptional sources referred to above.

According to the *Kulapañjikās*, the Vārendra and Rāḍhīya Brahmins of Bengal are descendants of the five Brahmins of the Śāṇḍilya, Kāśyapa, Bhāradvāja; Vatsa and Sāvarṇa *gotras* respectively who are said to have come to Bengal from Kanauj at the invitation of king Ādiśūra. The historical value of the *Kulapañjikās* has not been proved.

Buchanan refers to a tradition according to which twelve persons of very high distinction came from the west and settled in Mahāsthān in the Bogra district. Cunningham connects the name Varendra with the establishment of the twelve chieftainships of these influeufial people, whose names are said to have generally ended with Pāla.[26] There is no historical basis of the story. The evidence of

24. MM. H. P. Sastri, Catalogue of Palm-leaf and selected Paper MSS. in the Durbar Library of Nepal, p. 134.
25. A genealogy of the Kāśyapa section of Brahmins living in Varendra is given in a Bengali work entitled *Gauḍe Brāhmaṇ*.
26. CASR, xv, p. 147ff.

inscriptions makes its quite clear that the Brahmins in Varendra formed an important element in the population of the north during the Pāla period.

Brahmins in Varendra were honoured not only in their homeland but some of them were also held in high esteem by outsider. Thus we learn from the Silimpur slab-stone inscription,[27] that Prabhāsa refused to accept a donation of 900 gold coins and the grant of a landed property (*śāsana*), yielding an annual income of one thousand a year, from Jayapāla, king of Kāmarūpa. The Kamaulī plate of Vaidyadeva[28] shows that this ruler made the gift of a landed property to a Brahmin named Śrīdhara, son of Yudhiṣṭhira and grandson of Bhārata who belonged to Bhāvagrāma in Varendra. Some of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions throw important light on the subject. Thus from the Sāṅgalī plate of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda IV (Śaka 855=A. D. 933-4)[29] we learn that he made a gift of the village Lohagrāma to Keśavadikṣita of Puṇḍravardhana. From an inscription from Kolagallu belonging to Khoṭṭiga (A. D. 967)[30] we learn that some images of Kārttikeya and other gods were installed in that locality (Kolagallu) by the *Brahmacārin* Gadādhara of the Śāṇḍilya *gotra* described as a 'crest jewel of the Gauḍa country.' The inscription pays a further tribute to this Brahmin by describing him as an illuminator of the Varendrī country who administered the realm of the god Kārttikeya. Another inscription of Kolagallu (A. D. 964)[31] also refers to Gadādhara who had the entire charge of the estate known as *Kārttikeya tapovana* which he ruled from Kolagallu. The inscription gives the history and ancestry of the poet Madhusūdana who composed the *praśasti*. He was a *dvija* of the *Karmāra-kula* whose ancestors emigrated from Tarkāri in Varendra. A *Brahmacārin* of Bengal is thus found to have been given a great honour together with a post of high administrative responsibility by a south Indian king. In this context reference may be made of Īśānaśiva of Gauḍa who became the chief of the famous Śiva monastery at Vodāmayūṭa.[32]

Orissa also extended its patronage to Brahmins of Varendra as noted in some of its early inscriptions. Reference may be made to the Kaṭak (Cuttack) copper-plate[33] of Mahābhavagupta I for instance. It is recorded that *Mahattama*

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27. EI, xiii, pp. 283-295.
28. *ibid*, ii, p. 347ff.
29. IA, xii, pp. 247-258; for details see below.
30. EI, xxi, pp. 260-267; IHQ, xxxvi, pp. 189-200.
31. MER, 1914, pt. II.
32. EI, i, p. 62 ff.
33. ibid, iii, p. 323 ff ; xxiii, pp. 248-255.

Sāḍhāraṇa who received a land-gift from the king was an immigrant from Ṭakārī[34] and was also appointed his chief minister. In another copper-plate mention is made of the Brahmin donee named *Bhaṭṭa* Brahmadhara who came to Orissa from Puṇḍravardhana.[35] In the Talchar plate of Gayāḍatuṅgadeva is recorded the gift of a whole village received by three Brahmins.[36] According to Dr. D. C. Sircar these three donees were immigrants from North Bengal.[37] In the Cakradharpur plates of Raṇabhañja the donation of a village in favour of Padmākara, a Brahmin from Pecipāṭaka in the Varendra-*maṇḍala* is recorded.[38]

Some inscriptions referring to grants of lands are to be assigned to North Bengal though familiar names like Koṭivarṣa or Varendra do not occur in them. An early instance is the Kalaikuri (in the district of Bogra, about eight miles from Naogaon town in the Rajshahi district) copper-plate inscription of the Gupta year 120 (=440 A.D.)[39] recording the gift of some revenue-free land to three Brahmins named Devabhaṭṭa, Amaradatta and Mahāsenadatta of Puṇḍravardhana. All of them were students of the Vājasaneya school. The land measuring 9 *kulyavāpas* was distributed in the villages of Hastiśīrṣa, Vibhītakī, Gubhyagandhikā;[40] Dhānyapātalikā and Samgohāli—all situated within the area of Gohāli-*maṇḍala* of the Śṛṅgavera *vīthī*.

An inscription found at Bhāturiyā[41] near Rajshahi belonging to the time of Rājyapāla contain interesting information. It is recorded in this charter that the king, Rājyapāla, made a gift of a village Madhusrava, situated in the neighbourhood of Bhāturiyā in favour of the god Vṛṣabhadhvaja (*Śiva*) set up by Yaśodāsa in addition to other charities to Brahmins in the shape of gold, land, elephant and horses, which he may have acquired as a result of his military victories. The name of the Brahmin donees, however, are not given. They may have been the custodians of the temple of Śiva endowed by the king.

From a charter found near Jājilpāḍā,[42] a village near the Malda district,

34. It is situated in North Bengal.
35. Cf. HO, pp. 203-4 ; IC, xiii, pp. 157-162.
36. JPASB, (NS), xii (1916), pp. 291-295.
37. EI, xxiv, p. 91 ff. 38. JBORS, vi, p. 269 ff.
39. SHAIB, p. xii n ; IHQ, xix, pp 12-25 ; cf. EI, xxxi, pp. 57-66.
40. Read as Gulmagandhikā in the Sultanpur copper-plate inscription EI, xxxi, pp. 57-66 ; cf. IHQ, xix, pp. 12-26.
41. IHQ, xxxi (1955), pp. 215-231 ; EI, xxxiii, pp. 150-154.
42. JASB, xvii, pp. 137-141.

North Bengal, gift of two villages to Śrīdhara-Śarman is recorded. The donee belonged to the Mādhyandina branch of the Vājasaneya school, was the son and grandson of the learned *Bhaṭṭaputra* Śrīgarbha and *Bhaṭṭaputra* Nāga. The gift-villages, viz. Kāṣṭhagṛha and Mahārājapallika lay within the jurisdiction of the *agrahāra* of Ānandapura in the Kuddālakhāta-*viṣaya* of the Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti*. The donee, an immigrant from Muktāvastu, was probably a Brahmin resident of Sīhagrāma in North Bengal, which has been identified with a village named Sahagrām in the Dinājpur district. According to local tradition 'it was formerly a big village inhabited by a large number of learned Brahmins.'

Another instance is the Belwa plate of Mahīpāla I[43] which grant three localities, all situated in Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti*, though not definitely identified, to Jīvadharadeva-Śarman of the Hastidāsa *gotra*, son and grandson of Dhīreśvaradeva-Śarman and Viṣṇudeva-Śarman. The localities granted were (1) Osinna-Kaivarttavṛtti which was attached to the territorial unit Amalaksudduṅga within the Phāṇitā-*vīthī* measuring 210, (2) Nandisvāminī measuring 490, situated in Ṣaṭṭāpāṇayicatra with Pañcakāṇḍaka in Puṇḍarikā-*maṇḍala*, and (3) Gaṇeśvara in Pañcanagarī-*viṣaya*. The area of of this land was 151. The other plate belonging to king Vigrahapāla III[44] records the gift of lands to Jayānandadeva-Śarman, son of Śrīpatideva, grandson of Hṛṣikeśadeva and great grandson of Mitrakaradeva, attached to the Paippalāda branch of the Atharvaveda and was of the Bhāradvāja *gotra*. A part of the gift-land was situated in the village Lovanikāma which was attached to Puṇḍarika-*maṇḍala* as in the previous grant. The gift-land measured 3 *kulyas*, 7½ *droṇas* and 11 *udamānas*. The donee was a resident of the village Vellāvagrāma (modern Belwa). His families had migrated from Vahāḍa-grāma which has not been identified.

The India Office plate of Lakṣmaṇasena[45] records the grant of two parcels of land, one belonging to Vaṭumbī-*caturaka* which is a part of *āvṛtti* Vāścaśa and was situated in Pauṇḍravardhana-*bhukti*. As this name came to be applied to a larger area than north Bengal, it is not possible to say whether the land was situated in the area originally known as Puṇḍravardhana. The name of the other piece of the gift-land is missing. The two parcels of land measured a *droṇika* and a quarter plus 22 *yaṣṭis*, measured by the ród of 22 cubits. Both portions of the

43. EI, xxix, pp. 1-9.
44. ibid, xxix, pp. 9-13.
45. EI, xxvi, pp. 1-13.

WEST

We may now trace the extension of Brahmanism due to the effect of the settlement of Brahmins in the western parts of Bengal (Rāḍha). Brahmanic leadership gradually secured a firm footing in the different subdivisions of this area. There is a section of Brahmins in Bengal, designated as *Rāḍhīay Brāhmaṇas*, who are referred to by Halāyudha (12th century A. D.) in his famous work *Brāhmaṇa Sarvasva.*

Vardhamāna-bhukti

In West Bengal an early recorded settlement was in the Vardhamāna-*bhukti* (modern Burdwan). In the 6th century A.D. Mahārāja Vijayasena during the time of Gopacandra[46] made the gift of a piece of land in Vettragartā within the Vakkattaka *vīthī* of the Vardhamāna-*bhukti*, measuring 8 *kulyavāpas*, to a Brahmin named Vatsasvāmin of the Kauṇḍinya *gotra* belonging to the Bahvṛca *śākhā* of the Ṛgveda. The Naihāṭi copper-plate (12th century A.D.)[47] shows that Vallālasena made a gift of land situated in the village Vāllahiṭṭhā (modern Bāluṭiyā) of the Vardhamāna-*bhukti* to Ovāsudeva-Śarman of the Bhāradvāja *gotra*, a student of the Kauthuma school of the Sāmaveda, son of Lakṣmīdeva-Śarman, grandson of Bhadreśvaradeva-Śarman and great-grandson of Varāhadeva-Śarman. The gift land measured 7 *bhū-pāṭakas*, 9 *droṇas*, 1 *āḍhaka*, 40 *unmānas* and 3 *kākas* according to the reed known as *Vṛṣabha-śāṅkara-nala.* The occasion of the gift was the *Hemāśvamahādāna* ceremony performed by the king's mother, Vilāsadevī during the solar eclipse. It appears to have been a special aim of the Senas to strengthen the Brahmanic element in this *bhukti.* Vallālasena's son Lakṣmaṇasena also made a gift of land comprised in the village Viḍḍāraśāsana, situated in Betaḍḍa-caturaka of the Vardhamāna-*bhukti* to a Brahmin of the Vātsya *gotra* of the same Vedic school as known from his Govindapur copper-plate.[48] The donee in this case was an *upādhyāya* named Vyāsadeva-Śarman, son of Śrīnivāsadeva-Śarman, grandson of Cahaladeva-Śarman and great-grandson of Gosvāmideva-Śarman, on the occasion of an anniversary of the

46. EI, XXIII, p. 155 ff ; XXX, p. 160 ff.
47. ibid. XIV. pp. 156-163 : IB, pp. 68-80
48. IB, p. 92 ff.

coronation ceremony of the king (*rājy-ābhiṣeka-samaye*). The gift land measured 60 *droṇas* and 17 *unmānas* and yielded an annual income of 900 *purāṇas*.

Daṇḍa-bhukti

The second *bhukti* in West Bengal to welcome Brahmins as settlers was Daṇḍa-*bhukti* (modern Dātan in the Midnapore district). An early reference to Daṇḍa-*bhukti* is found in the Jayrampur copper-plate inscription of the time of Gopacandra (regnal year 1).[49] In one of the copper-plate inscriptions of Śaśāṅka from Midnapore[50] the gift of a village called Mu(a)hā-Kumbhārapadraka to Bhaṭṭeśvara of the Kāśyapa *gotra* is recorded. Another copper-plate[51] records the grant of some lands in the village Kumbhārapadraka as distinguished from the place of the same name with the prefix '*mahā*', which is here assigned to the *deśa* Kétakapadrika. In the latter copper-plate the donee, Dāmyasvāmin is said to have belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gotra* and to Mādhyandina *śākhā*. The localitics referred to in these grants were situated in the Tāvīra *adhikaraṇa*, probably the administrative headquarters of Daṇḍa-*bhukti*, from which both the copper-plates were issued. This area is supposed by Dr. R. C. Majumdar to represent the modern Debra, which is about 15 miles south-east of Midnapore.

In the 10th century A.D. the Kāmboja king Nayapāladeva gave away a village called Bṛhat-Chattivannā situated in Daṇḍa-*bhukti*, which was under the administrative division of Vardhamāna-*bhukti*, to *paṇḍita* Aśvattha-Śarman of the Kauthuma school of the Śāmaveda, an adherent of Chāndogya-caraṇa, as stated in his Irda copper-plate grant.[52] He belonged to a learned family. His father, Anukulamiśra, was an *upādhyāya* (teacher) ; his grandfather Prabhākara-Śarman was also an *upādhyāya*. His great grand-father was *Bhaṭṭa* Divākara-Śarman. They were of the Vātsya *gotra*.

Kaṅkagrāma-bhukti

In another administrative division of Rāḍha, viz. Kaṅkagrāma-*bhukti* (modern Kankjol) Brahmin settlements were formed under the patronage of the state. The Śaktipur copper-plate of Lakṣmaṇasena[53] records the gift of 89 *droṇas*

49. OHRS, XI, (1963), No. 4, p. 206 ff ; cf, SI, pp. 530-531.
50. JRASB, (Letters), XI, (1945), pp. 1-9
51. ibid.
52. EI, XXII, p. 150 ff.
53. ibid, XXI, p. 211 ff.

of land comprising a part of a *Nimā-pāṭaka* (modern village of the same name) and the whole of five other *pāṭakas* namely, Rāghavabhaṭṭa, Vārahakoṇā, Vāllihitā, Vijahārapura and Dāmaravaḍā. The income from these gift lands totalled 500 *kapardaka purāṇas*. All the pāṭakas were situated in Kumārapura-*caturaka* in Madhugiri-*maṇḍala* attached to (Kumbhīnagara) in the Dakṣiṇa-*vīthī* of Uttara-Rāḍha in Kaṅkagrāma-*bhukti*. The whole area as denoted above was granted to a Brahmin named Kuvera, son of Ananta, grandson of Pṛthvīdhara and great-grandson of Aniruddha, on the occasion of the solar eclipse. Incidentally, it is mentioned in the same inscription that a *kṣetra pāṭaka* of land had previously been granted by Vallālasena to Haridāsa, a Gayāl Brahmin probably of a priestly family.

Karṇasuvarṇa

Ancient Karṇasuvarṇa was situated in the Murshidabad district in Rāḍha (this location being supported by excavations now in progress near Berhampur). At least two copper-plate inscriptions were issued from this place in favour of Brahmins. One of these is the Vappaghoṣavāṭa grant of Jayanāga (or the Malliā copper-plate (6th century A.D.)[54] recording the gift of the village Vappaghoṣavāṭa in favour of a Sāmavedin Brahmin of the Chāndogya *śākhā* named *Bhaṭṭa* Brahmavīra-svāmin of the Kāśyapa *gotra*. This gift village was bounded in the west by a Brahmin settlement belonging to the village Kutkuṭa (*paścimasyāndiśi Kutkuṭa-grāmīna-vrā(brā)hmaṇānām sakta-tāmrapaṭṭa-sīmā* 11. 8-9). Incidently the charter refers to other Brahmin settlements in the eastern neighbourhood of the village Vappaghoṣavāṭa, e.g. those under the grants enjoyed by *Bhaṭṭa* Unmīlanasvāmin and Bhaṛaṇi-svāmin respectively. This shows that care was taken to donate lands of villages near existing Brahmin settlements, so that a compact Brahmin colony might grow in the locality.

The Nidhanpur plates were re-issued by Bhāskaravarman,[55] king of Kāmarūpa, from his victorious camp at Karṇasuvarṇa (*skandhāvārāt Karṇṇa-suvarṇṇa-vāsakāt*, l. 3). Originally, the grant had been made by Bhūtivarman, great-great-grandfather of Bhāskaravarman (end of the 5th or beginning of the 6th century A.D.) under a charter which was later destroyed by fire. The plates so far available give names of 205 Brahmin donees belonging to 56 different *gotras*, together with a specification of 166. 11/16 shares (including 7 shares ear-marked for

54. EI xviii, pp. 60-64

55. *Ibid*, xii, pp. 65-76 ; xix, p. 115ff ; 245ff ; KS, p. 3ff.

the maintenance of *bali, caru, satra,* etc.). The land which this document gives away was situated in Mayūra-śālmal-āgrahāra in the district of Candrapurī. There is a difference of opinion among scholars regarding the location of the gift land. One point, however, is clear that, by the beginning of the 6th century A.D., as the original grant shows,there were to be found large numbers of Brahmins settled in Bengal or its eastern neighbourhood.

Kāñjivilli and Talavāṭī in Uttara-Rāḍha are regarded as seats of Brahmins in the Chāndogya-pariśiṣṭa-prakāśa of Nārāyaṇa.

In Rāḍha, Brahmin settlers of the Kauthuma school of the Sāmaveda were most prominent and they received most of the royal grants as fees for their performance of religious ceremonies. These Brahmins were scholars and proficient in the performance of Vedic rites.

Siddhala

Siddhala, a village in West Bengal, enjoyed a high reputation for Brahmanic scholarship and rituals. In the Bhuvaneśvar *praśasti* of *Bhaṭṭa* Bhavadeva (11th century A.D.)[56] Siddhala has been described as the best of villages, the ornament of *Āryāvarta* and the goddess of fortune presiding over Rāḍha (*Āryāvartta-bhuvām=vibhūṣaṇam=iha khyātas-tu sarvv=āgṛmo grāmaḥ Siddhala eva kevalam-alaṅkāro=sti Rāḍhā-śriyaḥ*—v. 3). At this village lived a family to which belonged Bhavadeva II of the Sāmaveda school, one of the most celebrated Brahmins of his time. The genealogy of his family, which started from the sage Sāvarṇa, is given in the Bhuvaneśvar inscription, as follows :

1		1
1	1	1
Mahādeva	Bhavadeva I	Aṭṭahāsa[57]
	1	
	Rathāṅga	
	1	
	Atyaṅga	
	1	
	Budha	
	1	
	Ādideva	
	1	
	Govarddhana	
	1	
	Bhavadeva II	

56. *IB*, p. 5 ff ; EI, VI, p. 198ff.
57. He was not an elder brother as stated in the introduction by N. G. Mazumdar but a younger brother (cf. IB, p. 25ff. v. 6)

The Belava copper-plate of Bhojavarman[58] gives the history of another Brahmin family of Siddhala of the Sāvarṇa *gotra*. The inscription states that the great-grandfather of the donee came from the *Madhyadeśa*, which implies early association of the family with this locality. The donee, *Śāntyāgārādhikṛta* Rāmadeva-Śarman, a student of the Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Yajurveda, was the son of Viśvarūpadeva-Śarman, grandson of Jagannāthadeva-Śarman and great-grandson of Pītāmbaradeva-Śarman.

Siddhalagrāma as a seat of Brahmanism was so well known that the donor of the Mehār copper-plate selected some Brahmins from this place for bestowal of gifts of land in his territory in south-east Bengal. Among the recipients of such gifts were some Brahmins belonging to the Sāvarṇa *gotra*. The twenty Brahmins favoured with gifts were headed by Kāpaḍī of the Sāvarṇa *gotra* who received the charter on behalf of all the donees.[59]

The name of this village occurs in three inscriptions, the Bhuvaneśvar *praśasti* of *Bhaṭṭa* Bhavadeva (11th century A.D.), the Belava copper-plate of Bhojavarman (12th century A.D.) and the Mehār plate of Dāmodaradeva (13th century A.D.). According to Bhavadeva's inscription it was situated in Uttara-Rāḍha. The village Siddhala is represented by that modern Sidhalgrām, a village under Labpur police station in the Birbhum district.[60]

The twenty donees referred to in the Mehār copper-plate went from different villages, viz. Kāṇyamala, Pūrvagrāma, Siddhalagrāma, Diṇḍasā and Keśarakoṇā. Names of these villages except Kāṇyamala, are included in the list of 56 *gāmis* of the *Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇas* as found in the genealogical accounts of the Brahmins of Bengal. If the villages mentioned in the Mehār inscription are to be identified with those of the same names occurring in the *Kulapañjikā* list, it will be seen that due to their mention in the above inscription it may be possible to hold that these villages were already noted for their Brahmanic associations in the 13th century; particularly, so far as Siddhalagrāma was concerned, the date is still earlier. Pūrvagrāma is stated to be situated in Dakṣiṇa- Rāḍha.[61] N. N. Vasu identifies this place with the present village of the same name, situated 7 miles to the west of the town of Murshidabad;

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58. IB, p. 14ff.
59. Cf, Mehār plate of Dāmadoradeva, EI, xxvii, pp. 182-191 ; xxx, pp. 51-58.
60. SHAIB, p. 59n ; BV, pt. II, 234n.
61. Cf, JAHRS iv, pp. 158-160 ; IMP, ii, p. 938 ; IC, 1938, p. 358.

Diṇḍasa with the modern Diṃśā or Disā, district Burdwan and Keśarakoṇā with the village Keśarakoṇā situated in the Bankura district (both in West Bengal).[62]

Bhūriśreṣṭhika

An important centre of Brahmanic learning was the city of Bhūriśreṣṭhika situated in Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha to which reference is made by Kṛṣṇa Miśra in his *Prabodhacandrodaya Nāṭaka* (11th century A.D.).[63] At this place Śrīdhara (10th century A.D.), the author of *Nyāya-kandalī* composed a commentary on the Vaiśeṣika system of Brahmanical philosophy. Śrīdhara was the son of Baladeva and Abbokā. In Śrīdhara's time Bhūriśreṣṭhika was inhabited not only by pious and learned Brahmins but also by śreṣṭhins, merchants and bankers. This place is also mentioned by Bhārata Candra Raya (18th century A.D.) in his earliest work known as *Satya Pīrer Kathā*. This celebrated place is represented by modern Bhursut, a village on the right bank of the Dāmodar river in the district of Hooghly.[64]

Brahmins of Rāḍha were also patronised by the kings of Orissa. In an inscription belonging to the reign of Mahābhavagupta I, reference to a gift of land to *Bhaṭṭaputra* Jāturūpa, probably an immigrant from Rāḍha, is recorded.[65] In the opinion of some scholars, however, the name of the place is not Rāḍha.[66] In another inscription king Devendravarman of the Gaṅga dynasty made the gift of a village to an immigrant from Uttara-Rāḍha named Govinda-Śarman.[67] The reputation of Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha is particularly shown to have spread beyond the boundaries of Bengal. It is gathered from the Gaonri plates of Vākpati Muñja (A.D. 981) that a Brahmin named Donāka of the village of Vilvagavāsa in south Rāḍha received a gift from that king. He was a student of the Chāndogya-*śākhā* of the Sāmaveda.[68] A Śaiva teacher, resident of Pūrva-*grāma*, Dakṣiṇa- Rāḍha, settled in the Deccan where he made his influence felt.[69]

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62. VJI, (*Rāḍhiya-Brāhmaṇa* vivaraṇa, pp. 119-125.
63. ASB, edition, Act II, 49.
64. Cf, SHAIB, pp. 74-75.
65. EI, xi, p. 93ff.
66. DHNI, I, p. 397n ; EI, xi, pp. 101, 102, 201 ; cf, SHAIB, p. 74n.
67 EI, xxiii, p. 77.
68. ibid, xxiii, p. 105ff.
69. JAHRS, iv, pp. 158-162 : IMP, ii, 938, No. 316 ; IS, vii, No. 2, (1966), pp. 169-170.

East and South

The sphere of Brahmanic influence widened with the inclusion of Vaṅga, another ancient division of Bengal. It is mentioned for the first time in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, later in the *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, the *Mahābhārata*, *Raghuvaṃśa*, etc. The earliest epigraphic reference to the territory is given in the Meharuli Iron Pillar inscription.[70] A notable subdivision of Vaṅga was Vikramapura. It occupied an important place 'in the military annals of Bengal'.[71] Many inscriptions belonging to the Candras, Varmans and the Senas were issued from this place. Viśvarūpasena, the Sena ruler of Bengal, granted some land, yielding an annual income of 500 *purāṇas* to *Āvallika-paṇḍita* Halā-yudha-Śarman of the Vātsya *gotra* and of the Kāṇva branch of the Yajurveda, son of Adhyayadeva-Śarman, grandson of Devadharadeva-Śarman and great-grandson of Lakṣmīharadeva-Śarman.[72] The land in question comprised eleven plots, distributed in the two subdivisions of Vaṅga. Here in the Vikramapura region included the following plots :

1. Five plots of lands in the village of Deūlahastī in Lāuhaṇḍā-*caturaka*, measuring (25+10+7)=42 *udānas* and yielding 100 *purāṇas*.

2. Two plots of lands situated on an island, the name of which cannot be correctly read but may have belonged to this division. These two plots of land measured (12¾+ 24)=36¾ *udānas* and yielding 100 *purāṇas*.

The same king also granted two plots of land in the village Piñjokāṣṭī in the Vikramapura division of Vaṅga as recorded in his Madanapāḍā grant[73] to the *nītipāṭhaka* Viṣvarūpadeva-Śarman of the Vātsya *gotra*, son of Vanamālideva-Śarman, grandson of Garbheśvaradeva-Śarman and great-grandson of Parāsaradeva-Śarman. Keśavasena also granted land in Talapaḍā-pāṭaka situated within Vikramapura-bhāga of Vaṅga to a *nītipāṭhaka* Īśvaradeva-Śarman of the Vātsya *gotra*, son of Vanamālideva-Śarman, grandson of Garbheśvaradeva-Śarman and great-grandson of Parāsaradeva-Śarman.[74] It is interesting to note that the names of the father, grandfather and great-grandfather of Viśvarūpadeva-Śarman, the donee of the Madanapāḍā grant, are the same as those of Īśvaradeva-Śarman of

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70. CII, III, p. 141ff.
71. SHAIB, pp. 87-88.
72. IB, p. 140ff ; JAS, xx (1954), p. 201ff.
73. ibid, p. 132ff : JAS, xx, p. 209ff.
74. IB, p. 118 ff.

the Idilpur grant. Both were reciters of the *Nitiśāstra* and of the same *gotra*. Evidently they were brothers.

A grant discovered from Ādāvāḍī[75] in Vikramapura is of particular importance as it names a number of Brahmins who received land from king Daśarathadeva. The income of the land, which was given in specified shares to these Brahmins, was about 500 *purāṇas*. A point that may help in the location of the places in which the land was distributed is the fact that Antarvvāṭī, one of such places, may be identified with modern Ādāvāḍī. If this identification is correct there is likelihood that the other places were also contiguous to it. Some of the places mentioned are Bāndikhāṇḍā (modern Bāinkhāḍā), Navasaṃkhaha and Viṣayipāḍā. The boundaries of the donated land are as follows :

North—Nayanāva and Mūladeva (modern Nayanā and Māl)

South—Vaḍāilā and Bhāṅganiyā (corresponding to the present villages of the samename).

West—Gaṅgāgrāma (=Ganāīsār) and Māntahaṭā.

The following details are being furnished regarding the boundaries of the gift land to show its exact location.

Nāvya

Vaṅga had another subdivision known as Nāvya. This is known from the Calcutta Sāhitya-Pariṣat copper-plate grant of Viśvarūpasena (Vaṅga Nāvye 1. 42).[76] Nāvya as a name of a *maṇḍala* probably occurs in a grant of the Candra king Śrīcandra (10th century A.D.)[77] who made a gift of land to the *Śāntivārika* (priest in charge of propitiatory rites) Pītavāsagupta-Śarman of the Śāṇḍilya *gotra*, son of Sumaṅgalagupta, grandson of Varāhagupta and great-grandson of Makkaḍagupta on the occasion of the *Koṭihoma* ceremony. The gift land measured one *pāṭaka*, situated in Nehakāṣṭhi, a village comprised in the Nānya-*maṇḍala* (Nāvya-*maṇḍala*). Later, Viśvarūpasena, the Sena ruler granted a few plots of land to Halāyudha-Śarman, as noticed before, which were situated in this part of Vaṅga :

1. Two plots in the Sāmasiddhi-pāṭaka[78] measuring 67¾ *udānas* and yielding 100 *purāṇas* of which 19. 11/16 was the income from 7 *barajas*.

75. ibid, p. 181 ff.
76. ibid, p. 140 ff, 194 ff ; JAS, xx, (1954), p. 201 ff.
77. Cf, Rāmpal copper-plate of Śrīcandra, IB, p. 1 ff.
78. N. G. Majumdar reads it Rāmsiddhi-pāṭaka, IB, p. 141.

2. One plot in the village of Vinayatilaka, measuring 25 *udānas* and yielding 60 *purāṇas.*
3. One plot in Ajikulāpāṭaka which lay in Navasaṃgraha-*caturaka* included in Madhukṣīraka-*āvṛtti*, measuring 165 *udānas* and yielding 140 *purāṇas.*

The village Nehakāṣṭhi may be identified with Naikāṭhi in the Bakarganj district.[79] The village Sāmasiddhīpāṭaka of Viśvarūpa's grant situated in Nāvya has been identified with a village in the Gaurnadī area of Bākarganj.[80] It is regarded as a flourishing village inhabited by many *Śrotriya* Brahmins of the Mahintyāgāmi. Another village mentioned in the same grant has not been definitely identified. In the eastern side it extended up to the sea (*pūrvva samudra sīmā* i.e. the head of the Bay and the estuary of the Meghnā).[81] This region seems to have enjoyed special navigational facilities as probably corresponding 'to the tract of country lying along the lower course of the Padmā.'[82] There is some doubt also about the identification and location of Ajikulapāṭaka in Madhukṣīraka-*āvṛtti* in Navasaṃgraha-*caturaka* ; its connection with the Nāvyā region is not certain.

Samataṭa

'The geography of Vaṅga was intimately connected with that of Samataṭa[83] which is mentioned for the first time in the Allahabad *praśasti* of Samudragupta as a border kingdom.'[84] It occurs as the name of a *maṇḍala* in the Mehār[85] and Sobharampur[86] copper-plate grants of Dāmodaradeva (13th century A.D.) of the Deva family. Dāmodaradeva's policy was to form strong Brahmaṇic settlements in his territory. In the village of Mehār (in the Candpur subdivision of the Tippera district, East Pakistan), in the Samataṭa-*maṇḍala*, grants of land to

79. Pañcapuṣpa, 1339 (B.S.), Phālguna, p. 379ff.
80. ibid, 1339 (B.S.), Phālguna, p. 369.
81. Cf, IB, pp. 142, 146 ; HB, 16.
82. SHAIB, p. 87.
83. Many scholars hold that it was distinct from Vaṅga, cf, HGAI, p. 257.
84. SHAIB, p. 89.
85. EI, xxvii, p. 182ff ; xxx, pp. 55-58.
86. ibid, xxx, p. 184ff.

as many as twenty Brahmins, of different *gotras* were made, the share of each being shown separately.[87] Dāmodaradeva also granted land, distributed in three adjoining villages, namely, Sundaraya,[88] Āhaśyaga and Vāṇḍura together with some *droṇas* of homestead land to two Brahmins named Kauśika and Devarāta of the Agniveśya *gotra.*

In an earlier inscription belonging to Śrīdhāraṇa Rāta of Samataṭa it is stated that the king was requested by his *Mahāsandhivigrahika* (minister of peace and war) Jayanātha for a grant of 25 *pāṭakas* of land, out of which 13 *pāṭakas* of land were later distributed to 13 learned Brahmins for the performance of their *pañca-mahāyajña.* These lands were comprised in the *viṣaya* of Guptīnāṭana and Paṭalāyikā, under the jurisdiction of the *Kumārāmatya* of Devaparvata.[89]

Samataṭa was under the rule of Brahmin monarchs as early as the 7th century A.D.[90]

In this context reference may be made to the Idilpur copper-plate of Śrīcandra[91] which records the grant of a piece of land in the village Leliyā in the Kumāratālaka-*maṇḍala* situated in the Sataṭa-Padmāvāṭī-*viṣaya.* According to one view, the name Sataṭa-Padmāvāṭī-*viṣaya* is an 'abbreviated form of Samataṭa-Padmāvāṭī-*viṣaya*', which is to be taken as a part of Samataṭa.[92] Some, however, connect Padmāvāṭī with the river Padmā and the name of the *maṇḍala* with the river Kumāra, 'still preserved in Kumarakhāli, in Faridpur district, not far form the old bed of the river Padmā.'[93]

Khāḍi

Khāḍi was a part of Samataṭa. As the name of a *viṣaya* (district) it occurs in the Barrackpore grant of Vijayasena[94] and later as a *maṇḍala* in the Sundarban grant of his grandson, Lakṣmaṇasena.[95] In the Dākārṇava, Khāḍi is mentioned as one of the sacred places of the *śāktas.* Vijayasena, as his grant records, gave

87. See Appendix.
88. The reading seems to be Sundaraya-Diśaga according to Dr. D. C. Sircar.
89. IHQ, xxiii, (1947), p. 220ff.
90. Watters, ii, pp. 109, 168, 297 ; cf, SHAIB, p. 280ff.
91. IB, p. 166ff.
92. SHAIB, p. 96.
93. HB, pp. 25, 196.
94. IB, p. 57ff.
95. ibid, p. 169ff.

4 *pāṭakas* of land in a locality Ghāsa-sambhoga-bhaṭṭavaḍā (=*Bhāṭpāḍā*) in Khāḍi-*viṣaya*, where the standard of measurement, as used in Samataṭa, was applied. The annual income derived from the gift land was 200 *kapardaka-purāṇas*. The recipient of the grant was a Ṛgvedic Brahmin belonging to the Āśvalāyana branch named Udayakaradeva-Śarman, son of Bhāskaradeva-Śarman, grandson of Rahaskaradeva-Śarman and great-grandson of Ratnākaradeva-Śarman of the Vatsa *gotra*, who was an inhabitant of Kāntijoṅgā and an immigrant from *Madhyadeśa*.

According to the Sundarban copper-plate of Lakṣmaṇasena,[96] some land situated in the village called Maṇḍala-grāma and a homestead, measuring 3 *bhū-droṇas*, 1 *khāḍikā* (?), 23 *unmānas* and 2½ *kākiṇīs*, according to the standard of 32 cubits and yielding annually 50 *purāṇas*, situated in Kāntallapura-*caturaka* in the Khāḍi-*maṇḍala* was given to the *Śāntyāgārika* Kṛṣṇadeva-Śarman of the Āśvalāyana *śākhā* of the Ṛgveda and of the Gārgya *gotra*, son of Narasiṃhadharadeva-Śarman, grandson of Nārāyaṇadharadeva-Śarman and great-grandson of Jagadharadeva-Śarman. It is interesting to note that the plots marking the boundaries of this gift land also belonged to Brahmins : thus, plots in the east. west and north were in the possession of *Śāntyāgārikas* Prabhāsa, Rāmadeva, Viṣṇupāṇi (?) Gaḍolī and Keśava Gaḍolī respectively. In this way a sort of compact settlement exclusively of Brahmins was formed.

From another copper-plate grant from Sundarban[97] we learn that *Mahārāṇaka* Vāsudeva-Śarman, a student of the Kāṇva branch of the Yajurveda of the Vārdhīnasa *gotra*, son of Puruṣottamadeva and grandson of Somadeva, received a grant of land from Śrī Maḍommaṇapāla, which comprised the village named V(Dh)āmahithā, situated in the eastern part of Khāṭikā.[98] It is probable that the name Khāḍi is preserved in the form Khāṭikā in the grant issued by this ruler.

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96. IB, pp. 169-172.
97. IHQ, x, (1934), pp. 322-331 ; EI, xxvii, pp 119-124. Some scholars read the name as Dommaṇapāla, EI, xxx, p. 42 ff.
98. Compare *Paścimakhāṭikā* in Vardhamāna-bhukti mentioned in the Govindapur copper-plate of Lakṣmaṇasena (IB, pp. 92-98). It is likely that the *Pūrva-khāṭikā* from the dated copper-plate fsom Sundarban 'comprised the eastern portion of what was formerly called Khāḍi and which is now represented by the *pargana* bearing the same name.' The name Khāḍi still survives in the name of a *pargana* in the Diamond Harbour subdivision of the district of the 24-*parganas*.

Vyāghrataṭī-maṇḍala

A part of Samataṭa in the delta of the Ganges was known as Vyāghrataṭī-*maṇḍala* as early as the time of Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty. According to his Khalimpur plate, Dharmapāla[99] donated the village of Krauñca-śvabhragrāma and two other villages (Māḍhāśāmmalī and Pālītāka) in the Mahantāprakśa-*viṣaya* of Vyāghrataṭi-*maṇḍala* to some Brahmin priests from Lāṭa who were in charge of the temple of N(n)nna-Nārāyaṇa. Later the Ānuliā copper-plate of Lakṣmaṇa-sena[100] records the grant of a field in Vyāghrataṭī to *paṇḍita* Raghudeva-Śarman of the Kāṇva branch of the Yajurveda school, son of Devadāsadeva-Śarman, grandson of Śaṃkaradeva-Śarman and great-grandson of Vipradāsadeva-Śarman belonging to the Kauśika *gotra*. The gift land yielded an annual income of 100 *kapardaka-purāṇas*, measured 1 *pāṭaka*, 9 *droṇas*, 1 *āḍhāvāpa*, 37 *unmānas* and 1 *kākiṇikā* according to the *Vṛṣabha-śaṅkara-nala*.

Some inscriptions belonging to this part (i.e. South and East) of Bengal do not specify the subdivision or subdivisions to which the grants recorded were assigned. Thus the first of the four copper-plates from the Faridpur district (three from Koṭālipāḍā and one from Ghugrāhāti, a *mouza* close to Pinjāri)[101] record the gift of some land situated in Dhruvilāṭī to a Brahmin named Candrasvāmin of the Bhāradvāja *gotra* belonging to the Vājasaneya school; the second records the gift of some land to a Brahmin named Soma-svāmin of the Kāṇva-Lauhitya *gotra* belonging to the Vājasaneya school. It is interesting to note that the donor of this land was a Brahmin named Vāsudeva-svāmin. The third records purchase of land by a Brahmin named Vatsapāla-svāmin. He bought the gift land at Dhruvilāṭī from some Bhāradvāja Brahmins at the established rate and granted the gift land to *Bhaṭṭa* Gomidatta-svāmin of the Kāṇva-Lauhitya *gotra*. The fourth records transfer of some land to the Brahmin Supratīkasvāmin. The village Dhruvilāṭī had been identified by Pargitar with modern Dhulat in the Faridpur District. This village is regarded as a large village of respectable size.[102] It is necessary to draw special attention to the fact that land transactions in favour of Brahmins as recorded in some of the early Bengal inscriptions were made with the approval of local authorities or councils. Thus the admission of Brahmin elements into the

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99. EI, iv, p. 243 ff.
100. IB, pp. 81-91; cf, the Nalanda copper-plate of Devapāladeva, EI, xvii, p. 310ff.
101. IA, xxxix, (1910), pp. 193-216 ; EI, xviii, p. 74 ff.
102. ibid, (1910) p. 216ff.

respective areas mentioned had the support of the leaders of the local people concerned.

The Tippera copper-plate of Lokanātha[103] furnishes some important information regarding the progress of Aryanisation and influence of the Brahmins in East Bengal. It records the gift of some land in the forest region in Suvvuṅga-*viṣaya*. 'It was outside the pale of human habitation, where there was no distinction between natural and artificial (*kṛt-ākṛt-āviruddha* 11, 22 and 25) infested by wild animals and poisonous reptiles, and covered with forest-out-growths.' The boundaries of the gift land are given. This plate was found in the district of Tippera where possibly Suvvuṅga-*viṣaya* was situated. The inscription itself tells us that the gift land was situated in the easternmost region. It appears that as early as the 7th or the 9th century A.D.[104] the Brahmins played the role of a pioneer in establishing an outpost of Brahmanic culture in a remote and inaccessible part of Bengal which was covered with dense forests.

This inscription has some special features which may be noted here. In the first place the king does not make the grant directly to the Brahmin settlers whose names are recorded in the text. Originally he gives some land to a high administrative official who is a Brahmin by caste, named *Mahāsāmanta* Pradoṣa-śarman, son of Toṣa-Śarman, grandson of Jayaśarman-svāmin and great-grandson of Deva-Śarman of the Agastya *gotra*. Pradoṣa-Śrman's maternal great-grandfather was an *agnyāhita* Brahmin i.e. a Brahmin who offered sacrificial oblations to the sacred fires according to the injunctions of the *śāstras*. On the land received from the king, Pradoṣa-Śarman constructed a temple of Ananta-Nārāyaṇa and settled there more than one hundred *cāturvidya* Brahmins, by allotting to them specified shares of land.[105] It may be remembered that the number of donees in the Kailan copper-plate grant of Śrīdharaṇa Rāta of Samataṭa as well as in the Mehār grant is comparatively large but the largest number is met with in the Tippera grant of Lokanātha.

In one of the grants of Śrīcandra found near Sabhar in Dacca,[106] grant of rent-free land 'measuring 8 *droṇas* exceeded by 8...' in a place named Vaṅgasāgara-saṃbhāṇḍariyaka in Yolāmaṇḍala is recorded.[107] The gift was made in favour of

103. EI, xv, pp. 301 ff.
104. SHAIB, p. 142 ff ; EI, xv, 301 ff.
105. EI, xv, p. 301ff.
106. ibid, xxviii, pp. 51-58
107. Cf, IB, pp. 165-166.

a Vedic Brahmin named Śukradeva, son of Hara, grandson of Varāha and great-grandson of Mahādeva, who also belonged to a family of 'three *Somapītin* Brahmins known as Mākha, Rāma and Dhruva.' In another plate of Śrīcandra[108] plots of land were endowed to the *Śāṇṭivārika* Vyāsagaṅga-Śarman, son of Vibhugaṅga, grandson of Nandagaṅga (or Nannagaṅga) and great-grandson of Jayagaṅga of the Vārdhakauśika *gotra*. The donee was a student of the Kāṇva *śākhā*. The plots of land were granted by the king for conducting the *adbhutaśānti* ceremony on the occasion of the performance of the four *homas* (*homacatuṣṭaya*). The plots of land were scattered in Vallīmuṇḍā-*maṇḍala* in Khediravilli-*viṣaya*, Yolāmaṇḍala in Ikkaḍāsī-*viṣaya* and places in their vicinity, altogether measuring 19 *halas* and 6 *droṇas*.

Similarly, in the Sāmantasār plate of Harivarman[109] found near the district of Faridpur in the Idilpur pargana, the gift of 86 *droṇas* of land in the village of Varaparvvata in the Mayūraviḍja-*viṣaya* in the Pañcavāsa-*maṇḍala* was granted to a Brahmin (name damaged) belonging to the Āśvalāyana branch the of the Ṛgveda. The donee served as a *Śāntivārika*. He was the son of Padmanābha and grandson of Vedagarbha, of the Vatsa *gotra*.

It is not possible to bring certain areas, which cannot be definitely identified, under the system of regional classification adopted by us. Information about the extent of the spread of Brahmanic influence, as obtained from inscriptions referring to such unidentified places, must, however, be taken notice of in a chronological manner as far as possible, though it cannot be arranged regularly under the well-known geographical divisions. In the Rāmganj copper-plate of Īśvaraghoṣa[110] discovered in the district of Dinajpur, mention is made of a grant consisting of a village called Digghāsodikā situated in the Gāllitipyoka-*viṣaya* of the Piyolla-*maṇḍala*. This record was issued by the *Mahāmāṇḍalika* Īśvaraghoṣa from Dhekkarī which has been located by A.K. Maitra near Katwa in the Burdwan district. This place is mentioned in the *Rāmacarita* as a seat of one of the *sāmantas* who helped Rāmapāla. N. N. Vasu,[111] however locates it in Goalpara in Assam. It is probably the same as Dhikkara, a Buddhist sacred place, also mentioned in the *Dākārṇava* as one of the sixty-four *Pīṭhas*. This land was granted to *Bhaṭṭa* Nibboka-Śarman, a student of Yajurveda, an immigrant from Candavāra (modern Candwār near

108. IB, p. 165ff ; EI, xxxiii, p. 134ff.
109. ibid, p. 168ff ; EI, xxx, p. 255ff.
110. ibid, pp. 149-157.
111. Cf, IB, pp. 150, 151n.

Etawa in U.P.) and son of *Bhaṭṭa* Vāsudeva of the Bhārgava *gotra*. Though Īśvaraghoṣa's time is not known definitely, he has been assigned, on the evidence of the palaeography of his inscriptions, to about the 12th century A.D. It is seen that Brahmins were being invited to Bengal even as late as Īśvaraghoṣa's time when already there were countless Brahmins settled in the land.

A copper-plate of Dāmodaradeva found near Chittagong (A.D. 1243)[112] records the gift by him to Pṛthvīdhara-Śarman, a Yajurvedin Brahmin, of 5 *droṇas* of land in Dāmbāraḍāma. Of this land, 3 *droṇas* lay in Kāmanāpiṇḍiyāka and 2 *droṇas* in the village of Ketaṅgapālā. Particulars of the ancestry, *gotra*, etc. of the donee are not given in the inscription.

Available epigraphic evidence, as discussed above, shows that different well-organised administrative and geographical divisions of Bengal in the north (Koṭivarṣa, Varendra, etc.), in the west (Vardhamāna-*bhukti*, Daṇḍa-*bhukti*, Kaṅkagrāma-*bhukti*, Karṇasuvarṇa), in the south and east (Vaṅga, Samataṭa, Khāḍi, Vyāghratāṭi) and also other places came to be associated with Brahmins or groups of Brahmins, at various times, who are found to have been given attractive terms for settlement.

It may be supposed that under conditions created by the formation of settlements, sometimes of the nature of colonies, of Brahmin families in different parts of Bengal through centuries, numerous other Brahmins, of whom no accurate record is available, may have been induced from time to time, even without offers of princely support or invitation, to immigrate to areas where Brahmanisation had made a substantial progress due to their influence, offering them opportunities for the pursuit of their traditional callings amongst an increasing number of people who needed their religious and other services. The range of duties of these humble Brahmins lay outside the field dominated by those wealthy and influential Brahmin settlers who had received grants of lands and villages in recognition of their scholarship and high priestly attainments.

Brahmin Settlers from outside

In the history of the movement of the Vedic Aryans to the east of the Punjab there is scarcely any reference to its progress in Bengal in any early source related thereto. It is only from inscriptions dated from the 5th century A.D. that accounts of Brahmanic settlements in this land are available. But in the inscriptions of the Gupta period, which are the earliest among them, no hint is given as to where the

112. IB, 158 ff.

Brahmin settlers mentioned in them originally lived or came from, although names of these Brahmins, their *gotras* and Vedic schools to which they were attached, are given. In later inscriptions, e.g. those belonging to the Pāla kings of Bengal the Brahmins concerned are sometimes significantly described as *Madhyadeśa vinirgātāḥ* i.e. as hailing from the *Madhyadeśa*. Other similar cases of migration are also noticed occasionally.

A number of Brahmins seem to have migrated to Bengal at the invitation of some Pāla kings professing Buddhism. In some cases they are offered high posts in the State. The Bādal Pillar inscription[113] and the Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla[114] refer to a family of Brahmin ministers who were held in great respect by the Pāla kings under whom they served. Some scholars believe that this Brahmin family may have migrated to Bengal from Pañcāladeśa in the United Province. Others came from such distant territories as Lāṭa (Southern Gujrat) and acted as priests in the temple of *Nanna*-Nārāyaṇa while Dharmapāla was on the throne.[115]

Immigration of Brahmins to Bengal continued as shown in the Jajilpāḍā copper-plate grant of the reign of Gopāla II.[116] The donee in this case was an immigrant from Muktāvastu and a resident of Sīhagrāma. Muktāvastu has not been identified.[117] But a place of this name is mentioned in three grants of the Paramāra king Arjunavarman and the Mandhata plates of his successor Devapāla.[118] Similarly, the Bāngarh copper-plate of the reign of Mahīpāla I[119] records the gift of a village to Kṛṣṇāditya-Śarman, grandson of *Bhaṭṭaputra* Hṛṣikeśa who was an immigrant from the village of Hastipada. Thus the connection of this family with Bengal extended for three generations at the time of the grant. A village called Hastipada is also mentioned in the Kudopali grant of the Somavaṃśī king of Kośala (South) with which it may be identified.[120] This name is also familiar in the *Dīgha Nikāya*[121] in which it is mentioned in connection with the journey of Buddha to Kasia (Deoria district, U.P.) when he passed through

113. EI, ii, p. 160 ff.
114. IA, xv, p. 304 ff ; GLM, p. 57 ff.
115. EI, iv, p. 249 ff.
116. JASB, xvii, pp. 137-144.
117. According to some scholars it is to be located in Varendra, JASB, xvii, pp. 137-144.
118. EI, ix, p. 103 ff ; cf, HPD, p. 201.
119. ibid, xiv, p. 324 ff.
120. ibid, iv, p. 254 ff.
121. DN, ii, p. 123.

Hatthigrāma (Hastipada=Hattigrāma=Hattigama). It is further noticed in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*.[122] The Kahla plate of Soḍhadeva[123] also refers to a place of this name, situated in the Gorakhpur district of U.P. There is a probability that some of these sources refer to one and the same place which thus appears to have been situated in the *Madhyadeśa*.

The Āmgāchi[124] and the Bangaon plates of Vigrahapāla III[125] describe the migration of some Brahmins from Kroḍañca (Kroḍañci, Kolāñca). From the Āmgāchi grant it is known that the donee's (Khoduladeva-Śarman) grandfather migrated fram Kroḍañca and also from Matsyāvāsa. Koḍrañca may be placed in ancient Śrāvastī, i.e. the region round modern Set-Mahet on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich district in U.P. or in Kanauj. But according to N. K. Dikshit this may be identified with Kulanch in the Bogra district. It is difficult to be sure as to whether this was the original Kroḍañca from which these Brahmins are said to have migrated or a settlement in Bengal which was named after it.[126]

In mentioning the original home of the donee or his family the Āmgāchi grant gives two names, Kroḍañca and Matsyāvāsa, probably one of these was the name of the native place and the other that of the place of residence of the donee's family. As in the Āmgāchi grant the Irda copper-plate of the Kāmboja king Nayapāladeva[127] also supplies the same kind of information in giving details about the earlier whereabouts of the family receiving the gift concerned. In this record it is stated that the donee, *paṇḍita* Āśvattha-Śarman was born at Droṇa but hailed from Kuṇṭīra. Immigration of Brahmins to Bengal continued even under the patronage of the Varmans whose Belava copper-plate[128] mentions a gift of land made to Rāmadeva-Śarman, great-grandson of Pitambaradeva-Śarman said to be an immigrant from the Middle country, who settled in Siddhala in Uttara-Rāḍha.

Other cases of Brahmin immigration are also on record. During the period

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122. SN, iv, p. 109.
123. EI, vii, p. 85 ff.
124. ibid, iv, p. 293 ff.
125. ibid, xxix, p. 48 ff ; cf, EI, xxiii, p. 101 ff.
126. EI, xxiii, p. 103 ff ; cf, JBORS, v, (1919), p. 587 ff ; SHAIB, p. 393n.
127. ibid, xxii, p. 153 ff.
128. IB, p. 14 ff.

of political unrest caused by Muslim invasions the lives and occupations of the Midland Brahmins may have beoome troublesome and insecure. Hence at one stage, before the Muslims advanced as far east as Bengal, some of the distressed Brahmins probably left their homes in the disturbed areas and proceeded to safer places where livelihood was more comfortable. The rulers of Bengal during the period welcomed these Brahmins by making gifts of land to them or to their descendants. It means that Brahmins who came from outside enjoyed some special reputation whose presence seems to have been required to strengthen the position of the resident Brahmin community in Bengal. The position of Brahmanism in Bengal during the rule of the Sena kings may have been a cause of attraction for Brahmins outside. In addition to the cases already noted we may refer to that of Ratnākaradeva-Śarman of Kāṇṭijoṅgā, great-grandfather of the donee, in the Barrackpore grant, who was an immigrant from the *Madhyadeśa*.[129] Another instance is furnished by the Rāmganj copper-plate of Īśvaraghoṣa,[130] where reference is made to *Bhaṭṭa* Vāsudeva, described as an immigrant from Candavāra, which has been identified with Candwar near Etawa in the United Province, referred to by the Muhammadan historians.[131]

It may be assumed that even after migration the Brahmin settlers sometimes maintained their orthodoxy by continuing their social connection with the community outside Bengal to which they had originally belonged.

Caste rules in Bengal do not always appear to have been strictly observed in the orthodox fashion, to which testimony is borne by the Tippera copper-plate of Lokanātha[132] which refers to the marriage of a Brahmin with a Śūdra woman, the offspring of the union being called a *Pārasava*. This *Pārasava* whose name was Keśava was placed in charge of the army enjoying the confidence of the king. This shows that such marriages didnot inevitably lead to degradation or loss of status in the estimation of the king although an issue of such a marriage was no longer called a Brahmin. For example, Lokanātha of Brahmin ancestry in the above-mentioned grant, is referred to in the inscription as a '*karaṇa*'. This term may have, however, been used in this record in a double sense, administrative and social.

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129. IB, p. 57 ff.
130. ibid, p. 149 ff.
131. TIN, pp. 470, 742 ; HI, II, 297n.
132. EI, xv, p. 301 ff.

Invitation to Brahmins of Bengal from outside

The Brahmins of Bengal in course of time built up a solid reputation which sometimes spread beyond its borders. Thus the Sāṅgalī plate of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda IV (A.D. 933-34)[133] tells us of a Brahmin named Keśavadīkṣitā of the Kauśika *gotra* who emigrated from Puṇḍravardhana in North Bengal to South India to receive the grant of the village Lohagrāma comprised in the Rāmapurī Seven-hundred circle. He was a student of Vāji-Kāṇva, i.e. Vājasaneyi-Kāṇva *śakhā* of the Yajurveda. The family may have migrated to the south when the donee's father Dāmodara *Bhaṭṭa* was alive. According to the terms of the gift, the donee was given unobstructed, permanent and inalienable right over the village.

An inscription of Khoṭṭiga (A.D. 967)[134] mentions the installation of some images of Kārttikeya and other gods by the *Brahmacārin* Gadādhara at the village of Kolagala. Gadādhara is described in its verse 13 as an ascetic belonging to the Śāṇḍilya *gotra* and as a 'crest-jewel of the Gauḍa country'. Verse 14 tells us that 'he was born in the village Taḍā and that he was the illuminator of the Varendrī country.' A high tribute in fact is paid to Gadādhara who was entrusted with the administration of 'the realm of god Kārttikeya.' Another inscription of Kolagallu (A.D. 964)[135] also refers in a similar manner to Gadādhara who had complete control over the area known as *Kārttikeya tapovana* which he administered from Kolagallu. The inscription further gives the history and ancestry of the poet Madhusūdana who composed the *praśasti*. He was the son of Atibala and grandson Ṛṣi (?), and was a *dvija* of the *Karmāra-kula* whose ancestors emigrated from Tarkāri in Varendrī. Thus both Gadādhara, the donee, and Madhūsudana, the composer of the *praśasti*, are found to have emigrated to the Deccan from Varendra. Gadādhara may have gone to the south with Kṛṣṇa III during his second expedition in A.D. 963-964.[136] The other emigrant, Madhusūdana was probably known for his abilities as a poet.

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133. IA, xii, pp. 247-258.
134. EI, xxi, pp. 260-267 ; IHQ, xxxvi, (1960), pp. 196-200.
135. MER, 1914, pt, ii, No. 234 of 1913 ; cf, EI, xxi, 260-67 ; IHQ, xxxvi, pp. 196-200
136. cf, EI, xix, p. 287 ff.

Kings of different dynasties of Orissa are known to have invited Brahmins of Bengal, from time to time, to settle in their territory where they were endowed with gifts of villages and lands. On some occasions they were also appointed to responsible posts. One of the reasons for the patronage extended by the Somavaṃśī kings to Bengal Brahmins was their connection with Vaṅga as claimed in some of their records. Thus in the Jatesinga Dungri inscription (or Maranja—Mura charter), Mahāśivagupta I *alias* Yayāti, lord of Tṛkalinga, has been described as the full-moon in the sky of Vaṅga with his family called *Vaṅgānvaya* or of Vaṅga lineage.[137] Yayāti is further mentioned to have seized Gauḍa and Rāḍha. Not only Yayāti but other members of the Somavaṃśī dynasty also endowed Brahmins from Bengal as grantees of their charters. Thus, Mahābhavagupta I, Janamejaya (c.A.D. 975-1010) of the same dynasty made the gift of a village Vakratentali[138] to *Bhaṭṭaputra* Jātarūpa, son of Śrīvacha, who belonged to the Kauṇḍinya *gotra* and Chāndogya-caraṇa. He was an emigrant to Orissa from Rāḍhāphaṃvalli-kandara.[139] He settled in the village Meraṇḍā. R. D. Banerji believes that originally the donee lived in the village of Phaṃballi-Kandara in Rāḍha in West Bengal.[140] This view is not accepted by Dr. H. C. Ray who identifies Rāḍhāphaṃvallikandara with the modern state of Rairakhal.[141]

The same prince, in the 31st year of his reign, issued a charter from his camp of victory at Ārāma, by which he made a gift of a village to his chief minister *Mahattama* Sādhāraṇa, son of *Bhaṭṭa* Śobhana belonging to the Bhāradvāja *gotra*. He was a student of the Vājasaneya *śākhā*. He was acquainted with the Vedas, texts of polity and law and other subsidiary branches of learning. An immigrant from Ṭakārī which may be located in North Bengal, he came to reside at Turvunā in Kośala.[142]

As regards the identification of Ṭakārī, referred to above, from where the Brahmin donee migrated to Orissa it is not possible to arrive at a definite conclu-

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137. JBORS, ii, p. 52 ff ; DHNI, i, pp. 401-3 ; cf, IHQ, xx, pp. 76-82
138. Dr. H. C. Ray identifies Vakratentali with Bantentuli, 16 miles west of Sonpur town, DHNI, I, p. 397n.
139. EI, xi, p. 93 ff.
140. HO, p. 206 ff ; cf, SHAIB, p. 74n.
141. DHNI, i, p. 397 n. ; a similar view is held by B. C. Mazumdar, EI, xi, pp. 101, 102, 201.
142. EI, iii, p. 323 ff ; xxiii, pp. 281-255.

sion in the absence of fuller details in the inscriptions concerned. The Silimpur slab stone inscriptton,[143] edited by Dr. R. G. Basak, shows that there was an important Brahmanic locality in North Bengal known by this name. As these rulers were proud of their connection with Bengal, it would not be strange if they had a special fascination for Brahmins of this famous centre.

An inscription of Orissa, noticed by R. D. Banerji records, according to him, a royal gift of the village of Lambeha, situated in Potoda-*viṣaya* of the Āirapaṭṭa-*maṇḍala*, to a Brahmin named *Bhaṭṭa* Brahmadhara, son of Śrīdhara and grandson of Ādityadhara. The donee, an immigrant from Nārayaṇapura in Puṇḍravardhana, belonged to the Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Yajurveda and the Kṛṣṇātreya *gotra*. The grant is not dated.[144]

Similarly, in the Cakradharpur plates of Raṇabhañja, a Brahmin from the village Burullā in the Pecipāṭaka-*viṣaya* in the Varendra-*maṇḍala* receives the gift of the village Hastileṇḍā. The donee, Padmākara is said to have belonged to the Kṛṣṇātreya *gotra* of the Chāndogya-caraṇa and the Kauthuma *śākhā* of the Sāmaveda.[145] He was the son of Prabhākara and grandson of Añgaḍi.

Patronage was extended to Brahmins from Bengal by kings of the Gaṅga dynasty also in the form of land grants. The Indian Museum plate of *Mahārāja* Devendravarman (A.D. 802), son of *Mahārāja* Rājendravarman, records the gift of a village called Purujvanā (?) to Govinda-Śarman, son of *Bhaṭṭa* Nārāyaṇa. The donee is said to have migrated to Orissa from his native village in Uttara-Rāḍha. He belonged to the Vatsa *gotra* and was a student of the Yajurveda and the Kaṭha caraṇa.[146]

The Cidivalasa plate of Devendravarman (Gaṅga year 397)[147] records the grant of a village Kandalivāḍa in Orissa in favour of Āditya *Bhaṭṭa*, Yaju *Bhaṭṭa* (Yajña-*bhaṭṭa*),[148] Sendideva *Bhaṭṭa* (Khaṇḍideva-*bhaṭṭa*)[149] and others. Aecording to D. R. Bhandarkar and S. Rao the inscription refers to *Vaṅgaja Brāhmaṇas*

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143 EI, xiii, pp. 283-295.
144. HO, pp. 202-3.
145. JBORS, vi, p. 269 ff ; Bhandarkar's List : No. 1494.
146. EI, xxiii, p. 73 ff.
147. JAHRS, ii, p. 146 ff ; Bhandarkar's List ; No. 2052 ; JAS, xvii, (1952), No. 2, pp. 77-82.
148. JAS, xviii, pp. 77-82.
149. ibid.

i.e. Brahmins of Vaṅga. Dr. D. C. Sircar, however, thinks that the reading is not *Vaṅgaja* but *vaṃśaja*[150]

The Talchar plate of Gayāḍatuṅgadeva[151] records the grant of the village Vāmāitālla in the Tuṅkerā *viśaya* to three Brahmins all of whom, according to Dr. D. C. Sircar, went from Bengal. All these Brahmins belonged to the Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Yajurveda : (1) *Bhaṭṭaputra* Devaśarman, son of Paüma (i.e. Paḍma) and grandson of Dhanaśarman of the Kaśyapa *gotra*, (2) *Bhaṭṭaputra* Vāsudeva,[152] son of Lallaḍa and grandson of Dhaḍūkā of the Vātsya *gotra* and (3) *Bhaṭṭaputra* Rāmadeva, son of the former. Devaśarman received half of the village and the other two the rest of it, each getting one-fourth. The first donee emigrated from the village Mūthāutha in Varendrī-*maṇḍala* in North Bengal to Sāvira in Oḍra-*viṣaya* (i.e. Orissa). This place has been identified with Muktāvastu in North Bengal. The other two donees emigrated from Sāvathi which has been located in the 'area around Baigram in the Bogra district of North Bengal.'[153] On palaeographical grounds the inscription may be placed in the 11th century A.D.

The Malkapuram stone pillar inscription[154] glorifies the activities of the Śaiva teacher, Viśveśvara Śambhu who became the High priest of the *Golāki-maṭha* in the Dāhala-*maṇḍala*. He emigrated from Pūrva-grāma in Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha. His many-sided activities are noticed above. A similar case is noticed in the Badāun stone inscription of Lakhanapāla.[155] It is recorded there that a Brahmin of Gauḍa named Vasāvana belonging to the Vatsa-bhārgava *gotra* went and settled in Siṃhapallī in the Hariyāṇa country (modern Hariyāṇa in the Hissār district, Punjab). The inscription is silent regarding the cause of this migration. However, his eldest son, Īśānaśiva did not live in Siṃhapallī till the end of his life. We are told that he left Siṃhapallī and went to Vodāmayutā (modern Badāun, U. P.) and became a pupil of Mūrtigaṇa, the chief of the famous Śiva monastery there. In due time he became the chief of that monastery. He next founded another temple of Śiva and endowed it with the revenues of Bhadaṇaulikā.

A Brahmin of Bengal is also known to have gone to *Madhyadeśa* to receive

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150. JAS, xviii, 77-82
151. JPASB, (NS), xii, (1916), pp. 291-295 ; EI, xxxiv, p. 91 ff.
152. R. D. Banerji reads Vṛstideva, cf, JPASB,(NS), xii, pp. 291-295.
153. Cf. EI, xxiii, p. 101 ff.
154. JAHRS, iv, pp. 158-162 ; IC, vii, No. 2, pp. 169-170.
155. EI, i, p. 62 ff.

a grant of land (five shares) from king Vākpatirāja Muñja (c. A.D. 986).[156] His name was Donāka who came from Vilvagavāsa in Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha and belonged to the Chāndogya-*śākhā* of the Sāmaveda. Another pious Brahmin from Bengal went to Assam at the invitation of its ruler Vaidyadeva in the 12th century A.D. Vaidyadeva's Kamauli copper-plate inscription[157] records the grant of some land to him in Kāmarūpa-*maṇḍala* situated in Prāgjyotiṣapura-*bhukti*. The ancestor of this Brahmin donee, Śrīdhara was Bhārata who was an inhabitant of Bhāvagrāma in Varendra. Śrīdhara may have been a resident of Varendra also. Later he left his native village to settle in Kāmarūpa-*maṇḍala*.

Movement within Bengal

There is an interesting case of some Brahmin scholars moving from one part of Bengal to another for a specific reason. This is come across in the Silimpur stone inscription[158] where it is said that in the village of Bālagrāma there lived many Brahmin families, all proud of their 'learning, lineage and practice of austerities'. Some, belonging to the *paṇḍita* families, living in its eastern part, desiring to live apart, removed to a neighbouring place called Śīyamva(ba). This village was already under Brahmanic influence, being the birth place of a Brahmin named Paśupati who was 'skilful in the performance of six duties.' Another instance probably of an analogous character is furnished by the Keoār Viṣṇu Image inscription[159] which mentions that a Brahmin named Vaṅgoka, great-grandson of Śaurisarman, grandson of Pitāmaha and son of Sayoga of the Śāṇḍilya *gotra*, originally resident of the village of Ṭatākā in Varendri, migrated to Vikramapura *parganā* of Vaṅga. He may have installed the image which was found in Keoār. If this inscription can be assigned to a time later than the Muslim conquest of Nadia, it may be suggested that the Brahmin may have left his original home for East Bengal where Hindu rule continued under the Senas for some time. The donee's name Vaṅgoka was probably connected with Vaṅga and applied to the family after its migration to Vikramapura.

Although it was not perhaps difficult to meet with worthy local Brahmins, to whom gifts could be offered, the scope was extended, wherever necessary, by

156. 6I, I. 62.
157. ibid, ii, p. 347 ff.
158. ibid, xiii, pp. 283-295.
159. ibid, xvii, pp. 355-56.

inviting Brahmins from other parts of Bengal. Thus in the Belava copper-plate[160] we find that a Brahmin of Siddhala-grāma in Uttara-Rāḍha was donated the village Upyalikā belonging to Kauśāmbi-Astagachakhaṇḍala in the Adhaḥpattana-*maṇḍala* of Pauṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* in North Bengal by king Bhojavarman. Similarly, Dāmodaradeva (c. A. D. 1243) selected some Brahmins from Siddhala for gift of land in his kingdom in South-East Bengal. He also granted land in South-East Bengal to Brahmin donees from Kāṇyamala, Pūrvagrāma, Diṇḍisa and Kesarakona.[161] It may be understood from these instances that there was a time when Brahmins of Siddhala enjoyed a high reputation for their scholarship and piety, and consequently there was a demand for them in other areas of the country where there was a policy to strengthen the cause of Brahmanism.[162]

160. IB, p. 14 ff.

161. cf, EI, xxvii, p. 182 ff ; xxx, p. 51 ff.

162. Further details regarding grants of lands and donees are being incorporated in another paper to be published shortly.

A Tabular Statement of Classified Details Of Land Grants In Ancient Bengal

Inscriptions	Donee and his genealogy	Gotra	School	Object and occasion	Gift : village or land	Measurement & Prices	Miscellaneous
1. Dhanāidaha C. P. inscription of the reign of Kumāragupta I dated in the Gupta year 113 (=433 A.D.).	Varāhasvāmin	x	Sāmavedic	x	land	1 *kulyavāpa*	Purchased by the *Āyuktaka* and then made a gift of the same.
2. Kalaikuri (or Sultanpur) C. P. inscription of the Gupta year 120.	Devabhaṭṭa, Amaradatta, Mahāsenadatta	x	x	performance of daily sacrifices	land	9 *kulyavāpas*	purchased and then made a gift of the same.
3. Dāmodarpur C. P. inscription of the reign of Kumāragupta I (Gupta year 124).	Karppaṭika	x	x	performance of *agnihotra* rites	land	1 *kulyavāpa*	purchased.
4. Dāmodarpur C. P. inscription of the reign of Kumāragupta I, dated Gupta year 128.	x	x	x	performance of 5 daily sacrifices	land	1 *kulyavāpa*	purchased.
5. Dāmodarpur C. P. inscription of the reign of Budhagupta, dated in the Gupta year 163 (?).	x	x	x	provided Brahmins with dwelling places	land	x	purchased and then made a gift of the same.
6. Faridpur C.P. of the reign of Dharmāditya, year 3.	Candrasvāmin	Bhāradvāja	Vājasaneyin	x	land	x	x
7. Undated Faridpur C.P. of the reign of Dharmāditya.	Somasvāmin	Kāṇva-Lauhitya	Vājasaneyin	x	land	x	x
8. Mallasarul C.P. of the reign of Mahārāja Gopacandra, year 3.	Vatsasvāmin	Kauṇḍinya	Bahvca *Śākhā* of the Ṛgveda	performance of daily sacrifices	land	8 *kulyavāpas*	purchased.
9. Faridpur C. P. of the reign of Gopacandra, year 18.	*Bhaṭṭa* Gomidatta-svāmin	Kāṇva-Lauhitya	x	x	land	x	x
10. Ghugrāhāti C. P. of the reign of Samacaradeva, year 14.	Supratikasvāmin	x	x	x	land	x	x
11. Vappaghoṣavāta (or Mallia) C.P. of the reign of Jayanāga	Brahmavīra-svāmin	Kāśyapa	Sāmavedin	x	village : Vappaghoṣavāta	x	x
12. C. P. inscription of Śaśaṅka from Midnapore.	Bhaṭṭeśvara	Kāśyapa	x	x	village : Mu(a)hā-Kumbhārapadraka	x	x
13. C. P. inscription of Śaśāṅka from Midnapore	Dāmya-svāmin	Bhāradvāja	Mādhyandina *śākhā*	x	village : Kumbhārapadraka	x	x
14. Nidhanpur C. P. of the reign of Bhāskaravarman, king of Kāmarūpa.	205 donees	x	x	x	land in Mayūra-śālmal-āgrahāra in the district of Candrapurī	x	See Appendix
15. Tippera C. P. of Lokanātha, dated in the year 44.	Devaśarman, Jayāśarmasvāmin Toṣaśarman, Pradoṣa-śarman (*Mahāsāmanta*)	Agastya	x	(1) Maintenance of the temple of Ānanta-Nārāyaṇa (2) providing residence of more than 100 Brahmins. All of them were versed in the four Vedas	land in Suvvuṅga *viṣaya*	x	See Appendix
16. The Kailan C.P. of king Śrīdhāraṇa Rāta of Samataṭa.	13 donees	x	x	To perform five daily sacrifices	land in the *viṣayas* of Guptīnāṭana and Paṭalāyikā	13 *pāṭakas*	See Appendix
17. Khalimpur C.P. of the reign of Dharmapāla, dated in the year 32.	Gift to a Brahmin from Lāṭa and other subordinate priests attached to the temple of Nanna-Nārāyaṇa	x	x	x	Four villages : Krauñcaśvabhra-grāma Māḍhāśāmmalī, Pālitakā and Gopippalī	x	x
18. Bādal Pillar inscription of the time of Nārayaṇapāla	x	Śāṇḍilya	x	x	x	x	This is not a land-grant but it gives a panegyrical account of Gurava Miśra and his ancestors
19. Bhāturiyā inscription of Rajyapāla.	Gift made in favour of god Vṛṣabhadhvaja and some Brahmins	x	z	x	village Madhusrava and some land	x	It is said in the charter that the gift land was acquired as a result of military victories

Inscriptions	Donee and his genealogy	Gotra	School	Object and occasion	Gift : village or land	Measurement & Prices	Miscellaneous
20. Jājilpāḍā C.P. of the reign of Gopāla II, dated in the year 6.	*Bhaṭṭaputra* Nāga *Bhaṭṭaputra* Śrīgarbha Śrīdharaśarman (donee)	x	Vājasaneyin school Mādhyandina branch	x	Two villages : Kāṣṭhagṛha & Mahārājapallika	x	Immigrant from Muktāvastu and a resident of Sīhagrāma
21. Belwa plate of Mahīpāla I (regnal year 5)	Viṣṇudeva-Śarman Dhīreśvaradeva-Śarman Jīvadharadeva-Śarman (donee)	Hastidāsa	x	x	Land : Three localities : Osinna-kaivartta-*vṛtti*, Nandisvāmini, and Gaṇeśvara	210, 490, 151 measures of land	x
22. Bangarh C. P. of the reign of Mahīpāla I, dated in the year 9.	*Bhaṭṭaputra* Hṛṣikeśa *Bhaṭṭaputra* Madhusūdana Kṛṣṇāditya-Śarman (donee)	Parāśara	Vājasaneyin branch of the Yajurveda	x	Village Kurāṭa-pallika with the exception of the part known as Cuta-pallika	x	Immigrant from Hastipada. Resident of the village Cevati
23. Belwa plate of Vigrahapāla III, dated in the year 11.	Mitrakaradeva Hṛṣikeśadeva Śrīpatideva Jayānandadeva-Śarman (donee)	Bhāradvāja	the donee was a student of the Paippalāda *śākhā* of the Atharvaveda	x	Half of the village Lovanikāma	3 *kulyas*, 7½ *droṇas* and 11 *udamanas*	Migrated from Vahedāgrāma. Resident of Vellāvagrāma
24. Āmgāchi C.P. of the reign of Vigrahapāla III, dated in the year 12	Padmavanadeva Arkadeva Khoduladeva-Sarman	Śāṇḍily	Kauthuma school, Sāmavedin Brahmin	x	Part of the village Viṣamapura together with Daṇḍatraheśvara	6 kulyas, 2 droṇas, 3 kakinis and 2 unmānas	Immigrant from Kroḍañca and also Matsyāvāsa. Inhabitant of Chattrāgrāma (Champrāgrāma)
25. Manhali C.P. of the reign of Madanapāla, dated in the year 8.	Vatsasvāmī Prajāpatisvāmin Śaunakasvāmī Vateśvarasvāmī (donee)	x	Kauthuma school of Sāmaveda	Fee for reciting the *Mahābhārata* to the chief queen	Some land in Halāvartta-*maṇḍala*	x	Resident of Campāhiṭṭi
26. Sundarban C.P. of the reign of Śrī Madommoṇapāla, dated in the year S.E. 1118. (Rakṣaskhali plate)	Somadeva, Puruṣottamadeva, Vāsudeva-Śarman (donee)	Vārdhīnasa	Kāṇva branch of Yajurveda	x	village : V(Dh)āmahithā	x	x
27. Silimpur slab-stone inscription of the time of Jayapāladeva.	x	Bhāradvāja	x	x	x	x	This is not a land-grant, although Prahāsa was gifted with a landed property (*śāsana*). This inscription gives us a genealogy of the family of Prahāsa.
28. Rāmpāl C.P. of the reign of Śrīcandra.	Makkaḍa-Gupta Varāha-Gupta Sumaṅgala-Gupta Pītavāsa-Gupta (*Śāntivārika*) (donee)	Śāṇḍilya	x	*Koṭihoma* ceremony	land	one *pāṭaka*	x
29. Dhullā C.P. of the reign of Śrīcandra	Jayagaṅga Nandagaṅga Vibhugaṅga Vyāsagaṅga-Śarman (*Śāntivārika*) (donee)	Vārddhakauśika	Kāṇva *śākhā*	*Adbhutaśānti* ceremony & four *homas*	land	19 *halas* and 6 *droṇas*	x
30. Idilpur C.P. of the reign of Śrīcandra.	x	x	x	x	Gift of a piece of land in the village of Leliyā	x	x
31. Madanpur plate of Śrīcandra of the year 44.	Mahādeva Varāha Hara Śukradeva (donee)	x	x	x	land	8 *droṇas* exceeded by 8.....	x

	Inscriptions	Donee and his genealogy	Gotra	School	Object and occasion	Gift : village or land	Measurement & Income	Miscellaneous
32.	Irdā C.P. of the reign of the Kāmboja king Nayapāladeva, dated in the year 13.	*Bhaṭṭa* Divākara-Śarman *upādhyāya* Prabhākara-Śarman *upādhyāya* Anukulamiśra *paṇḍita* Aśvarttha-Śarman (donee)	Vātsya	Kauthuma school of Sāmaveda Chāndogyacaraṇa	x	village : Bṛhat-Chattivannā	x	The donee was born at Droṇa but came from Kuṇḍira
33.	Belāva C.P. of the reign of Bhojavarman, dated in the year 5.	Pītāmbaradeva-Śarman Jagannāthadeva-Śarman Viśvarūpadeva-Śarman Rāmadeva-Śarman (*Śāntyāgārādhikṛta*) (donee)	Sāvarṇa	Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Yajurveda	x	land in the village Upyalikā	1 *pāṭaka* and 9¼ *droṇas*	Immigrated from the *Madhyadeśa* and settled in Siddhala-grāma in Uttara-Rāḍha
34.	Sāmantasār C.P. grant of the reign of Harivarman.	*Bhaṭṭaputra* Vedagarbha Padmanābha-Śarman name lost (*Śāntivārika*) (donee)	Vātsya	Āśvalayana *śākhā* of the Ṛgveda	x	land in the village, Varaparvata	86 *droṇas*	The name of the donee is damaged.
35.	Bhuvaneśvar stone inscription of *Bhaṭṭa* Bhavadeva II.	x	Sāvarṇa	x	x	x	x	It is not a land-grant but a *praśasti*. It gives us an account of the family of *Bhaṭṭa*-Bhavadeva
36.	Barrackpur C.P. of Vijayasena, dated in the year 62.	Ratnākaradeva-Śarman Rahaskaradeva-Śarman Bhāskaradeva-Śarman Udayakaradeva-Śarman (donee)	Vatsa	Āśvalāyana branch of the Ṛgveda	Golden *Tulā-purusa Mahādāna ceremony*,	land	4 *pāṭakas*	This family immigrated from *Madhyadeśa*. Resident of Kāntijoṅgā.
37.	Naihāṭī C.P. of the reign of Vallalasena, dated in the year 11.	Varāhadeva-Śarman Bhadreśvaradeva-Śarman Lakṣmīdharadeva-Śarman Ovāsadeva-Śarman (donee)	Bhāradvāja	Kauthuma school of Sāmaveda	*Hemāśvamahādāna* ceremony	Village : Vāllahiṭṭhā (modern Balutiya)	7 *bhūpāṭakas*, 9 *droṇas*, 1 *āḍhaka*, 40 *unmānas*, and 3 *kākas*.	x
38.	Govindapur C.P. of the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena, dated in the year 2 or 3.	Gosvāmideva-Śarman Cahaladeva-Śarman Śrīnivāsadeva-Śarman Vyāsadeva-Śarman (donee)	Vātsya	Kauthuma school of Sāmaveda	Coronation ceremony	village : Viḍḍāraśāsana	60 *droṇas* and 17 *unmānas* annual income : 900 *purāṇas*	x
39.	Tarpandīghi C.P. of the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena, dated in the year 2.	Hutāśanadeva-Śarman Mārkaṇḍeyadeva-Śarman Lakṣmidharadeva-Śarman Īśvaradeva-Śarman (donee)	Bhāradvāja	Kauthuma school of Sāmaveda	*Hemāśvamahādāna* ceremony	village : Velahiṣṭī	120 *āḍhavāpas* and 5 *unmānas* annual income : 150 *kapardaka-purāṇas*	x
40.	Ānuliā C.P. of the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena, dated in the year 3.	Vipradāsadeva-Śarman Śaṃkaradeva-Śarman Devadāsadeva-Śarman *paṇḍita* Raghudeva-Śarman (donee)	Kauśika	Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Yajurveda	x	land	1 *pāṭaka*, 9 *droṇas*, 1 *ādhāvāpa*, 37 *unmānas* and 1 *kākiṇikā*. Income : 100 *kapardaka-purāṇas*.	x
41.	Śaktipur C.P. of the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena, dated in the year 6.	Aniruddha Pṛthivīdhara Ananta Kubera (donee)	x	x	On the occasion of the solar eclipse	5 *pāṭakas* and a part of a *Nimā-pāṭaka*	89 *droṇas* Income : 500 *kapardaka-purāṇas*	This gift was made in exchange for a *kṣetra-pāṭaka*, previously donated.
42.	India Office plate of Lakṣmaṇasena, dated in the year 27. (Bhowal C.P.)	Buddhadeva-Śarman Jayadeva-Śarman Mahādeva-Śarman Padmanābha-Śarman (*pāthaka*) (donee)	Maudgalya	Kauthuma *śākhā* of the Sāmaveda	x	Two plots of land	A *droṇika* and one quarter plus 22 *yaṣṭis*. Income : 400 *kapardaka-purāṇas*	x
43.	Mādhāinagar C.P. of the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena.	Dāmodaradeva-Śarman Rāmadeva-Śarman Kumāradeva-Śarman Govindadeva-Śarman (Śāntyāgārika)	Kauśika	Paippalāda branch of the Atharvaveda	1) Maintenance of *Brāhmaṇas* and deities 2) *Aindrī Mahāśānti* ceremony on the occasion of the *mūlābhiṣeka*	village : Dāpaṇiyā-pāṭaka	100 *bhūkhāḍīs* and 91 *khāḍikas* Income : 168 *kapardaka-purāṇas*	x
44.	Sundarban C.P. of the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena	Jagaddharadeva-Śarman Nārāyaṇadharadeva-Śarman Narasiṃhadeva-Śarman Kṛṣṇadharadeva-Śarman (*Śāntyāgārika*)	Gārgya	Āśvalāyana *śākhā* of the Ṛgveda	x	Land in Maṇḍala-grāma and a homestead	3 *bhūdroṇas*, 1 *khāḍikās* (?) 23 *unmānas* and 2½ *kākiṇis*. Income : 50 *purāṇas*	x

Inscriptions	Donee and his genealogy	Gotra	School	Object and occasion	Gift : village or land	Measurement & Income	Miscellaneous
45. Madanpāḍā C.P. of the reign of Viśvarūpasena. dated in the year 14.	Parāśaradeva-Śarmaḥ Garbheśvaradeva-Śarman Vanamālideva-Śarman Viśvarūpadeva-Śarman (*nītipāṭhaka*)	Vātsya	x	x	Two plots of land in the village of Piñjokāsthi	Revenue : 627 *purāṇas*	x
46. Calcutta (Vaṅgīya) Sāhitya Pariṣat C.P. of the reign of Viśvarūpasena.	Lakṣmīdharadeva-Śarman Devadharadeva-Śarman Adhyayadeva-Śarman Halāyudhadeva-Śarman	Vātsya	Kāṇva branch of Yajurveda	Birth-day anniversary	Eleven plots of land	336·5 *unmānas* Income : 500 *Kapardaka-purāṇas*	x
47. Idilpur C.P. of the reign of Keśavasena, dated in the year 3.	Parāśaradeva-Śarman Garbheśvaradeva-Śarman Vanamālideva-Śarman Īśvaradeva-Śarman (*nītipāṭhaka*)	Vātsya	x	Birth-day anniversary	Land in Talapaḍāpāṭaka	Income 200 *drammas*	x
48. Bhatera C.P. inscription of Govinda-keśava (c. 1049 A.D.).	Donation made in favour of God śiva in Bhaṭṭapāṭaka (modern Bhatera)		x	x	Land and houses	296 houses and 375 *halas* of land	x
49. Rāmganj C.P. of Īśvaraghoṣa	*Bhaṭṭa* Vāsudeva *Bhaṭṭa* Nibboka-Śarman	Bhārgava	A student of Yajurveda	x	village : Digghāsodikā	x	The donee emigrated from Candavāra
50. Chittagong C.P. of Dāmodaradeva	Pṛthvīdhara-Śarman		Yajurvedī Brahmin	x	Land	5 *droṇas*	x
51. Mehār plate of Dāmodaradeva, dated Śaka 1156	Twenty donees	Sāvarṇa, Bhāradvāja and Ātreya	x	x	Gift land situated in the village of Mehār	x	See Appendix
52. Sobharampur plate of Dāmodaradeva, dated Śaka 1158	Kauśika & Devarāta	Agniveśya	x	x	Three villages - Sundaraya Āhaśyaga, Vāṇḍura Land - 15 *droṇas* of homestead land	x	x
53. Ādāvāḍī C.P. of Daśarathadeva	Fifteen Brahmins were granted land	x	x	x	x	Income : 500 *purāṇas*	x
54. Sāṅgalī plate of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda IV (A. D. 933-34)	Dāmodara *Bhaṭṭa* Keśavadīkṣitā (donee)	Kauśika	Vājasaneyin, Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Yajurveda	x	village : Lohagrāma	x	The donee migrated to the south from Puṇḍravardhana in North Bengal.
55. Kolagallu inscription of Khoṭṭiga dated Śaka 889	Gadādhara	Śāṇḍilya	x	x	x	x	The donee installed the god Kārttikeya in the village known as Kolagalu. He migrated to south from North Bengal. He was in charge of the gift territory.
56. Sonpur C. P. of Mahābhavagupta I (A.D 975-1010)	Śrīvaca *Bhaṭṭaputra* Jātarūpa (donee)	Kauṇḍinya	Chāndogya-caraṇa	x	village : Vakratentali	x	He immigrated to Orrisa and settled in the village Meraṇḍā.
57. Sonpur plate of Mahābhavagupta	*Bhaṭṭa* Śobhana *Mahattama* Sādhāraṇa	Bhāradvāja	Vājasaneyin *śākhi*	x	village : Randa	x	The donee was the chief minister of the king. He immigrated from Takārī in North Bengal to Turvunā in Kosala and settled there.
58. Inscription from the Dhenkanal State	Ādityadhara Śrīdhara *Bhaṭṭa*-Brahmadhara	Kṛṣṇātreya	Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Yajurveda	x	village : Lambeha	x	The donee immigrated from Nārāyaṇapura in Puṇḍravardhana.
59. Cakradharapur plates of Raṇabhañja	Aṅgaḍi Prabhākara Padmākara	Kṛṣṇātreya	Kauthuma *śākhā* of the Sāmaveda and of the Chāndogya-caraṇa	x	village : Hastilenda	x	The donee immigrated from the village Burullā in the Pecipāṭaka-*viṣaya* in the Varendra-*maṇḍala* to the south.
60. The Indian Museum plate of Mahārāja Devendravarman (A.D. 80)	*Bhaṭṭa* Nārāyaṇa Govinda-Śarmar	Vatsa	Yajurveda and Kaṭha-caraṇa	x	village : Purujvanā	x	The donee migrated from Uttara-Rāḍha to Orissa.

Inscription	Donee and his genealogy	Gotra
61. Cidivalasa plate of Devendravarman (Gaṅga year 397)	1) Āditya *Bhaṭṭa*, 2) Yaju *Bhaṭṭa* (Yajña*bhaṭṭa*), 3) Sendideva*bhaṭṭa* (Khaṇḍideva*bhaṭṭa*) 4) and others.	Bhāradvāja
62. The Talchar plate of Gayāḍatuṅgadeva	1) Dhana-Śarman Paüma (Paḍma) *Bhaṭṭaputra* Devaśarman (donee) 2) Dhaḍūkā Lallaḍa *Bhaṭṭaputra* Vāsudeva (donee) 3) Rāmadeva (donee)	Kāśyapa Vātsya ,,
63. The Malkapuram Stone Pillar inscription	Viśveśvara Śambhu	x
64. The Gaonri plates of Vākpati Muñja (A.D. 981)	Donāka	x Chā of t
65. The Kamauli plate of Vaidyaḍeva	Bharat Yudhiṣṭhira Śrīdhara	x

APPENDICES

BRAHMANIC SETTLEMENTS IN DIFFERENT SUBDIVISIONS OF ANCIENT BENGAL

PUSPA NIYOGI

Appendix I

List of Brahmins with alloted Shares
(From the Tippera copper-plate of Lokanātha)

	Names	*Portions*
1.	*Bhaṭṭa* Anantadeva-svāmin	*Pāṭakas* 9
2.	,, Dharmadāma	,, 1
3.	,, Nāgadatta	,, 1
4.	,, Keśava	,, 1
5.	,, Gada (?) nandin	,, 1
6.	,, Medhaśoma	,, 1
7.	,, Udayacandra	,, 1
8.	,, Manojñadeva	,, 1
9.	,, Jayaśoma-svāmin	,, ½
10.	,, Pūrṇadāma	*Droṇas* 20
11.	,, Videśā	,, 20
12.	,, Yajñadeva	,, 20
13.	,, Amaradeva	,, 20
14.	,, Lādra(?)-svāmin	,, 20
15.	,, Pūrṇaghoṣa	,, 20
16.	,, Ugrasoma	,, 20
17.	,, Manoratha	Jointly *pāṭakas* 2
18.	,, Ṛavi (?) la	,,
19.	,, Rāsañscala	,,
20.	,, Bhikṣata	,,
21.	,, Hariśarman	*Droṇas* 10+7=17
22.	,, Janasoma	,, 10+5=(?) 15
23.	,, Vinda	,, 15
24.	,, Bhānu	,, 10 (?)
25.	Kaṇa	½ of what is not clear
26.	Viśva	,,
27.	Khaḍga	,,
28.	Vadara	,,
29.	Vicakṣana	,,
30.	Pati (?)	,,
31.	Govardhāna	,,
32.	Prabhāvariṣa	,,
33.	Viṣṇu	,,

Names	*Portions*
34. Andasūri	½ of what is not clear
35. Piṭrkeśvir	,,
36. Antacara	,,
37. Harṣabhūti	,,
38. Subhra (?) ta	,,
39. Bhaṇḍa	,,
40. Harṣa	Portions not known
41. Mādra	,,
42. Khaliśa	,,
43. Vṛddhdroha	*Droṇas* 20 of woodland
44. Vidagadh anċ others	*Pāṭaka* 1
45. Kakka	*Droṇas* 20
46. Maheśa (?)	Jointly *Droṇas* 20 (?)
47. Teja	,,
48. Soma Janārdana	,,
49. Anda	,,
50. Nṛga	,,
51. Sadeśa	,,
52. Śaṅkara	,,
53. Rudra	(Jointly) *Pāṭaka* 1 (?)
54. Vikasita	,,
55. Divākara	,,
56. Hariṣa	,,
57. Vijaya	,,
58. Vāmana	,,
59. Gopiśarman	,,
60. Ānanda	,,
61. Nirdhāra (?)	,,
62. Sutoṣa	,,
63. Lachuka	,,
64. Sūkṣmabhūti	*Pāṭaka* 1
65. Rudra	(Jointly) *pāṭaka* 1
66. Dāmodara	Portions not known
67. Ānda	,,
68. Tṛsoma	,,
69. Vidagdha	,,
70. Janārdana	,,
71. Upati (?)	,,
72. Skanda	,,
73. Īśana	,,

Names	*Portions*
74. Pati	Portions not known
75. Kṛṣṇa	,,
76. Bhava	,,
77. Rudra	,,
78. Surata	,,
79. Janasoma	,,
80. Vidagdha	,,
81. Vappa	,,
82. Dhṛti	,,
83. Avalipta	,,
84. Koṇṭa (?)	,,
85. Buddhadatta-śarman	,,
86. Vappa-śarman	,,
87. Navaccakra	,,
88. Jaya	Jointly *droṇas* 20
89. Śiva	,,
90. Viṣṇu	,,
91. Sujāta-śarman	,,
92. Bandhu	Portions not known
93. Vedaju	,,
94. Lavvu	,,
95. Dhṛti	,,
96. Jayāmitra	,,
97. Deva	,,
98. Sradhu	,,
99. Vidāśa	,,
100. Jīva	,,
101. Mahāsaka	,,
102. Vihi	,,
103. Suy (?) ta	,,
104. Ugra	,,
105. Pratoṣaka	,,
106. .....Artha	,,
107. Adbhu	,,
108. Santoṣa	,,
109. Daitagaṇa	,,
110. Rūpa	,,
111. Santu (?)	,,
112. Viṣnumitra	,,
113. Nistāraṇa	,,

Names	*Portions*
114. Govinda	Portions not known
115. Koṇṭa (?)	,,
116. Kaṇādū (?) gdha	,,
117. Vappa (?)	,,
118. Suṣena	,,
119. Lavvu	,,
120. Liṅga	,,
121. Śoka	,,
122. Hambo	,,
123. Subha	,,
124. Guṇatoṣa	,,
125. Vappa	,,
126. Śoka	,,
127. Vappa	,,
128. Atithi	,,
129. Bhānu	,,
130. Kṣiraganḍu	,,
131. Nidhi	,,
132. Bhadra	*Droṇas* 20
133. Janārddana	,,
134. Bhāskara	,,
135. Vappa	,,
136. Devadatta	,,
137. Dhanaṅkara	(Jointly) *droṇas* 20
138. *Bhaṭṭa* Brahmadatta	,,
139. ,, Apadatta	*Droṇas* 20
140. Svāmidatta-vappa	Portions not known
141. Candra	,,
142. Pana	,,
143. Kṛṣṇa	(Jointly) but portions not known
144. Hariṣa	,,
144a. Vikasita	,,
145. Manoratha	,,
146. Vṛkaśa	,,
147. Nayana	,,
148. Citra	,,
149. Vipaścita	,,
150. Yajña	,,
151. Sukṛta	,,

Names	*Portions*
152. Toṣa	(Jointly) but portions not known
153. Candra-vappa	,,
154. Ahi	,,
155. Markaṭa	,,
156. Candra	,,
157. Prāṇa	,,
158. Nanda	,,
159. Kṣemabhūti	*Pāṭakas* 2
160. Vappa	*Pāṭaka* 1 (each ?)
161. Deva	,,
162. Praśānta	,,
153. Dudhu-svāmin	,,
164. Prakāśa	,,
165. Gauṇa	,,
166. Pṛyadāma	*Droṇas* 20
167. Ānanda	(Jointly) *draṇas* 20 (?)
168. Indra-svāmin	,,
169. Nārāyaṇa	(Jointly) *Pāṭaka* 1
170. Harideva	,,
171. Candrakeśa	,,
172. *Bhaṭṭa* Sūta	*Droṇas* 10
173. ,, Piñchadeva	*Pāṭaka* 1
174. Nandagopa	Portions not known
175. Vanamāli	,,
176. Trilocana	,,
177. Khanya	,,
178. Pūjiṣṇu	Jointly (?) *Pāṭakas* 9
179. Ahi	,,
180. .....Svāmin	,,
181. Samṛdha	Portions not known
182. Saṅgha	,,
183. Santoṣa	,,
184. Jayaśarman	,,
185. Daideva	,,
186. Ivaṇṭi (ṇṇi) (?)	,,
187. Naravijaya	,,
188. Saṃbhuvijaya	,,
189. Guptājaya	,,
190. Sūri	*Droṇas* 9 (?)

Names	*Portions*
191. Pṛya	*Droṇas* 10
192. Madhu (?)	It is not clear if each of these men got one *āḍhaka*
193. Lakṣaṇa	,,
194. Dhanananda	,,
195. Paraśāla	,,
196. Uśa	,,
197. Indra	,,
198. Hari	,,
199. Dhṛti	,,
200. Iccha	,,
201. Deva	,,
202. Gaṇa	,,
203. Mahārāja	,,
204. Dadibhaṭi	,,
205. Bhogin Bhavadāsa	*Droṇas* 20
206. *pāchaka* Vasu	,,
207. *vāchaka* Sudhāma (?)	,,
208. Vira (?) he	,, 10+9
209. *utkata-kārmaṇa* Nara-datta	,, 10+9=19

Appendix II

List of Brahmin recipients of land-shares with their gotra-names and Vedic affiliations
(*From the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman*)

No.	*Veda*	*Gotra*	*Name*	*Share*
1.	Vājasaneyin	Prācetasa	Sādhāraṇa--svāmin (*paṭṭakapati* i.e. the holder of the copper-plates)	2
2-5.	do	do	Śrīvasu with his three brothers	1
6-7.	do	do	Somavasu with his master	½
8.	Chāndogya (i.e. Sāmavedin)	Kātyāyana	Manoratha-svāmin (*paṭṭakapati*)	1¾
9.	do	do	Viṣṇughoṣa-svāmin	½
10.	do	do	Vedaghoṣa-svāmin	1
11.	Bāhvṛcya (i.e. Ṛgvedin)	Yāska	Dāmadeva-svāmin	1
12.	do	do	Ghoṣadeva-svāmin	½
13.	do	do	Nandadeva-svāmin	½
14.	Chāndogya	Bhāradvāja	Arkadatta-svāmin with his clan shares	1½
15.	do	do	Tuṣṭidatta-svāmin	½
16.	Vājasaneyin	Kāśyapa	Ṛṣidāma-svāmin	1
17.	do	do	Śubhadama-svāmin	1
18.	do	Kautsa	Śanaiścarabhūti (clan share)	1½
19.	Bāhvṛcya	Gaurātreya	Saṅkarṣana-svāmin	2
20.	do	do	Nara-svāmin	1
21.	do	do	Nārāyaṇa-svāmin	1
22.	do	do	Viṣṇu-svāmin	1
23.	do	do	Sudarśana-svāmin	1
24.	do	do	Gopendra-svāmin	1
25.	do	do	Arka-svāmin	¼
26.	do	do	Bhānu-svāmin	½
27.	do	do	Bhūyaskara-svāmin	½
28.	Vājasaneyin	Kṛṣṇātreya	Yaśobhūti-svāmin (clan-share)	1½
29.	Chāndogya	Bhāradvāja	Varuṇa-svāmin	1

No.	*Veda*	*Gotra*	*Name*	*Share*
30.	Vājasaneyin	Kauṇḍinya	Madhusena-svāmin	1
31.	Chāndogya	Gautama	Dhruvasoma-svāmin	1
32.	do	do	Viṣṇusoma-svāmin	1
33.	Vājasaneyin	Bhāradvāja	Viṣṇupālita-svāmin	1½
34.	do	do	Śucipālita-svāmin	1
35, 36.	do	do	Mitrapālita and Arthapālita	½
37.	do	do	Prajāpatipālita-svāmin	¼
38.	do	Gautama	Madhu-svāmin	1
39.	do	do	Cakradeva-svāmin	½
40.	Cārakya (i.e. Yajurvedin)	Vātsa	Kuṣmāṇḍapatra-svāmin	3/16
41.	do	do	Īśvaradatta-svāmin	2
42, 43.	Vājasaneyin	Maudgalya	Sudarśana and Dinakara-svāmins	1
44.	do	Śaubhaka (Śaunaka ?)	Yajñakuṇḍa-svāmin	1½
45.	do	do	Yośākuṇḍa-svāmin	1¼
46.	do	do	Śrāddhakuṇḍa-svāmin	1
47.	do	do	Nārāyaṇakuṇḍa-svāmin	1
48.	do	do	Īśvarakuṇḍa-svāmin	1+1/8
49.	do	do	Śaktikuṇḍa-svāmin	¼
50.	do	do	Toṣakuṇḍa-svāmin	1+1/8
51.	Cāraka	Pārāśarya	Sādhu-svāmin	1
52.	Chāndogya	Āśvalāyana	Gaṅga-svāmin	1
53.	Bāhvṛcya	Vārāha	Nara-svāmin	1
54.	Vājasaneyin	Śālaṅkāyana	Sūryya-svamin	1
55.	do	Bhāradvāja	Bhavadeva-svāmin	1
56.	do	do	Śarvadeva-svāmin	1
57.	do	do	Gomideva-svāmin	½
58.	do	do	Sāvitradeva-svāmin	2
59.	do	do	Arkadeva-svāmin	½
60.	do	do	Sādhāraṇa-svāmin	¼
61.	do	Gārgya	Dāmarāta-svāmin	1
62.	do.	Bhāradvāja	Vasudatta-svāmin	2
63.	do	Ātambāyana	Yogeśvara-svāmin	2
64.	do	do	Viṣveśvara-svāmin	1
65.	do	do	Divyeśvara-svāmin	1
66.	do	do	Gaṇeśvara-svāmin	1
67.	do	do	Buddheśvara-svāmin	1
68, 69.	do	do	Jaṭeśvara-svāmin and Aṅgeśvara-svāmin	¼

No.	*Veda*	*Gotra*	*Name*	*Share*
70.	Vājasaneyin	Ātambāyana	Dhauteśvara-svāmin	¼
71.	do	do	Mageśvara-svāmin	¼
72.	do	do	Jāhnaviśvara-svāmin	½
73.	do	do	Nandeśvara-svāmin	1
74.	do	Āṅgīrasa	Dāmabhūti-svāmin	1
75, 76.	Bāhvṛcya	Kāśyapa	Prakāsavara-svāmin with brother	1
77.	Vājasaneyin	Yāska	Gāyatṛpāla-svāmin	1
78.	Bāhvṛcya	Parāśara	Śāntaśarma-svāmin	1
79.	do	Kauśika	Padmadāsa-svāmin (clan share)	1½
80, 81.	do	do	Govardhana, Yajñapāla and Panu Sudarśana-svāmin	½
82.	Chāndogya	Pāṅkalya	Gopāla.svāmin	1
83.	Taittiriya (Yajurvedin)	Kāśyapa	Ugradatta-svāmin	1
84.	Bāhvṛcya	Vārhaspatya	Bhaṭṭinanda-svāmin	1
85.	do	do	Sādhu-svāmin	1
86.	do	do	Devakula-svāmin	1
87.	do	do	Janārdana-svāmin	½
88, 89, 90.	do	do	Sunayana, Nārāyaṇa and Vṛddhi-svāmins	½
91.	do	Gautama	Īśvarabhaṭṭa-svāmin	1
92.	do	do	Bhṛgu-svāmin	½
93.	do	Bhāradvāja	Rudraghoṣa-svāmin	1
94.	Cāraka	Kātyāyana	Kauśīsoma-svāmin	1
95.	Vājasadeyin	Gautama	Prabhākarakīrtti-svāmin	1
96.	do	Śāṇḍilya	Ananta-svāmin	1
97.	Bāhvṛcya	Śaunaka	Gatibhaṭṭi-svāmin	1
98.	do	do	Tejabhaṭṭi-svāmin	1
99, 100.	do	do	Mantraghoṣa, Tejabhaṭṭi and Mandibhutī-svāmins	½
101.	do	do	Dāmabhaṭṭi-svāmin	1
102.	do	do	Medhabhaṭṭi-svāmin	1
103.	do	do	Sumatibhaṭṭi-svāmin	1
104.	do	do	Suyogabhaṭṭi-svāmin	1
105.	do	Vātsya	Śāsvatadāma-svāmin	1
106.	Chāndogya	Gautama	Toṣa-svāmin	1
107.	Bāhvṛcya	Vārāha	Bhaṭṭihara-svāmin	1
108.	Vājasaneyin	Bhāradvāja	Nāgadatta-svāmin	½
109, 110.	do	Ālambāyana	Durveśvara-svāmin with brother	½
111.	Vājaysneyin	Bhāradvāja	Rūpūḍhya-svāmin	½

No.	*Veda*	*Gotra*	*Name*	*Share*
112, 113.	Bāhvṛcya	Kauśika	Candradāsa and Vimardanadāsa-svāmins	1
114.	Vājasaneyin	Kāśyapa	Supratiṣithita-svāmin	1
115.	do	Gautama	Nandana-svāmin	1
116.	do	Śākaṭāyana	Toṣa-svāmin	½
117, 118.	do	Gautama & Kaśyapa	Sarasa and Vakula-svāmins	1
119.	do	Bhāradvāja	Viduṣa-svāmin	½
120.	Bāhvṛcya	Vārāha	Pravara(nā)ga-svāmin	¾
121,	do	do	Āpanāga-svāmin	1
122, 123.	do	do	Toṣanāga and Hampināga-svāmins	¼
124.	Vājasaneyin	Kāśyapa	Managhoṣa-svāmin	1
125.	Chāndogya	Vaiṣṇavṛddhī	Sarppiṇi-svāmin	1
126.	do	do	Janārdana-svāmin	1
127.	Bāhvṛcya	Kauśika	Arka-svāmin	1½
128.	do	do	Śraddhadāsa-svāmin	½
129.	Vājasaneyin	Gautama	Sanātana-svāmin	1
130.	do	do	Harsaprabha with his *gotra*	½
131.	do	Kauṭilya	Khaṇḍasoma-svāmin	1½
132, 133, 134.	do	do	Śreyaskara, Gati, Gauri-soma (svāmins)	1
135.	do	do	Vakulasoma-svāmin	½
136, 137.	do	do	Dhṛtisoma, Siṃhasoma (svāmins)	½
138.	do	Kṛṣṇātreya	Bhāyaśaḥ-svāmin	1½
139.	do	do	Yajña-svāmin	1½
140.	do	do	Daiva-svāmin	1¼
141.	do	do	Daridi-svāmin	1½
142.	do	do	Pradyumna-svāmin	1½
143.	do	do	Vṛddhi-svāmin	2
144.-148.	do	do	Divākara, Hari, Adbhuta, Tvaṣṭṛa, Toṣanāga (svāmins)	1
149.	do	Kavestara	Medha-svāmin	1
150.	do	Māṇḍavya	Dhṛti-svāmin with his *gotra*	¼
151.	do	Kāśyapa	Keśava-svāmin	1
152.	do	Bhāradvāja	Gauri-svāmin	1
153.	do	do	Sucarita-svāmin	½
154.	do	do	Bappa-svāmin	1
155.	Bāhvṛcya	Kauṇḍinya	Karkadatta-svāmin	1

No.	*Veda*	*Gotra*	*Name*	*Share*
156.	Bāhvṛcya	Bhāradvāja	Udayana-svāmin	1
157.	do	Vāsiṣṭha	Meruḍatta-svāmin	1
158, 159.	Vājasaneyin	Agniveśya	Narendra-(Reṇubhuti)-svāmins	1
160.	do	do	Medhabhuti-svāmin	½
161.	Cārakya	Saṅkṛtyāyana	Candrapakṣa-svāmin	1
162.	Bāhvṛcya	Yāska	Kāli-svāmin	1
163.	do	do	.....svāmin	1½
164.	do	do	Bhaṭṭa-Maheśvara-svāmins	½
165.	do	Parāśarya	Gopalanandi-svāmin	1
166.	do	Bhargava	Viśvabhuti-svāmin	½
167, 168.	do	do	Surakṣita, Sucarita-svāmins	½
169.	Taittiriya	Bhāradvāja	Śivagaṇa-svāmin	1
170.-173.	Bāhvṛcya	Kātyāyana	Vasuśrī-svāmin with three brothers	1
174.	Vājasaneyin	Kauśika	Vīrabhūti-svāmin	1
175.	do	do	Viṣṇubhuti-svāmin	½
176.	do	do	Pramodabhuti-svāmin	1
177.	do	Bhāradvāja	Viṣṇudatta-svāmin	1
178.	do	Kauṇḍinya	Bṛhaspati-svāmin	1
179.	Bāhvṛcya	Yāska	Harṣadeva-svāmin	1
180.	Vājasaneyin	Jātūkeṛṇa	Medha-svāmin	1
181.	do	do	Kṛṣṇa-svāmin	1
182, 183.	do	do	Mādhava-Hari-svāmins	1
184.	Cāndoga	Bhāradvāja	Janārdana-svāmin	1
185.	Vājasaneyin	Maudgalya	Viṣṇusoma-svāmin	½
186.	Cārakya	Gārgya	Dhanasena-svāmin	1
187, 188.	do	do	Pramodasena, Ghoṣasena (svāmins)	1
189.	do	do	Somasena-svāmin	1
190.	Bāhvṛcya	Gautama	Bhāskaramittra-svāmin	1
191.	do	do	Madhumittra-svāmin	1
192, 193.	do	do	Sādhāraṇamittra Sādhumittra (svāmins)	1
194.	do	do	Dhṛtimittra-svāmin	½
195.	do	Bhāradvāja	Śukrabhava-svāmin	1

No.	*Veda*	*Gotra*	*Name*	*Share*
196, 197.	Bāhvṛcya	Pautṛmaṣya	Sudarśana, Dhaneśvara-svāmins	½
198.	Vājasaneyin	Śāṇḍilya	Ravi-svāmin	1
199.	do	do	Madhu-svāmin	1
200.	do	do	Mahīdhara-svāmin	1
201.	Bāhvṛcya	Paurṇṇa	Bhaṭṭi-Maheśvara-svāmin	1
202.	do	do	Bhaṭṭi-Mātṛ-svāmin	½
203.	do	do	Rudrabhaṭṭi-svāmin	½
204.	Cāndogya	Kauśika	Adrvilepana-svāmin	1
205.	Vājasaneyin	Sāvarṇa	Gominā̃ga-svāmin	1

Appendix III

(*From the Kailan copper-plate of king Śrādhara Rāta of Samataṭa*)

Name	*Shares*
1. *Bhaṭṭa* Divākara	5 *Padas* (1¼ *Pāṭakas*)
2. ,, Bhava	5 ,, (1¼ ,,)
3. ,, Vatsa	5 ,, (1¼ ,,)
4-5. Valīvardayaśas and Vṛṣabhayaśas	5 ,, (1¼ ,,)
6. *Bhaṭṭa* Bhadra	5 ,, (1¼ ,,)
7. ,, Lalita	5 ,, (1¼ ,,)
8. Nārāyaṇa	5 ,, (1¼ ,,)
9. Āloka	5 ,, (1¼ ,,)
10. Valīvardacandra	3 ,, (¾ ,,)
11. Candrasvāmin	2 ,, (½ ,,)
12. Sādhāraṇaghoṣa	2 ,, (½ ,,)
13. Paśupati	5 ,, (1¼ ,,)

Appendix IV

(*From the Mehār copper-plate of Dāmodaradeva*)

	Name	*Gotra*	*Income*
1.	*Paṇḍita* Kâpaḍīka	Sāvarṇa	25 *Purāṇas*
2.	*Brāhmaṇa* Śāṅkoka	do	5 ,,
3.	,, Sudoka	do	8 ,,
4.	,, Kālemīka	do	4 ,,
5.	,, Tārāpati	do	4½ ,,
6.	*Paṇḍita* Pāṇḍoka	Bhāradvāja	10½ ,,
7.	*Brāhmaṇa* Deuka (Deḍaka)	do	4 ,,
8.	,, Sudoka	do	8+7/16 ,,
9.	,, Keśava of Kāṇṭāmaṇi		(4+7/8+9/16) ,,
10.	,, Brahmoka		(2+1¼+2) ,,
11.	,, Śiroka		5¾ ,,
12.	,, Dharaṇika of Pūrvagrāma		2½ ,,
13.	*Paṇḍita* Pauka (Pāṇḍuka) of Siddhalagrāma		4 ,,
14.	*Brāhmaṇa* Śāṅkoka (Śaṅkoka)	Ātreya	1¼ ,,
15.	,, Prajāpati of Diṇḍisāya		3¼ ,,
16.	*Gṛha-paṇḍita* Nāthoka (Śri Janoka)		1¼ (minus 1 & 1/8) ,,
17.	*Brāhmaṇa* Viśvarūpa		3+3/8 ,,
18.	,, Mādhoka		No income from the gift land
19.	,, Śrīpati of Keśarakoṇa		,,
20.	,, Śrīvatsa		,,

Appendix V

List of Gotras

1. Agastya
2. Āgniveśya
3. Āṅgīrasa
4. Āśvalāyana
5. Ālambāyana
6. Ātreya
7. Bārhaspatya
8. Bhāradvāja
9. Bhārgava
10. Gārgya
11. Gaurātreya
12. Gautama
13. Hastidāsa
14. Jātūkaṛṇa
15. Kāṇva-Lauhittya
16. Kāśyapa
17. Kāśyaka
18. Kātyāyana
19. Kauṇḍinya
20. Kauṭilya
21. Kautsa
22. Kauśika
23. Kavestara
24. Kṛṣṇātreya
25. Māṇḍavya
26. Maudgalya
27. Pāṅkalya
28. Parāśara
29. Paurṇṇa
30. Pautṛmaṣya
31. Prācetasa
32. Śāketāyana
33. Śālaṅkāyana
34. Śāṇḍilya
35. Sāṅkṛtyāyana
36. Śaunaka
37. Sāvarṇa
38. Vaiṣṇavṛddhi
39. Vārāha
40. Vārddha-kauśika
41. Vārdhīnasa
42. Vāsiṣṭha
43. Vatsa
44. Vatsabhārgava
45. Vātsya
46. Yāska

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Aitareya Āraṇyaka - A. B. Keith
AGI	- Ancient Geography of India - A. Cunningham
AOEI	- The Aryan Occupation of Eastern India - H. C. Chakladar
AS	- Asiatic Society
ASB	- Asiatic Society of Bengal
ASI, ASR	- Archaeological Survey of India, Report
BDS	- Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra - Fuhrer
Beal-Life	- The Life of Hiuen Tsang by Shaman Hwei Li. Tr. by S. Beal
BV	- Birbhūm Vivaraṇa - H. Mukherjee
CASR	- Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Reports
CII	- Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
DHNI	- The Dynastic History of Northern India - H. C. Ray
DN	- Dīgha-Nikāya
EBS	- The Early Brahmanical System of Gotra and Pravara - John Brough
EHNI	- Contributions to the Economic History of Northern India - Puspa Niyogi
EI	- Epigraphica Indica
ESAI	- Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India - S. B. Chaudhuri
GAMI	- Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India - D. C. Sircar
GDAMI	- The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India - N. L. Dey
GLM	- Gauḍalekhamālā - A. K. Maitreya
HB	- History of Bengal (Vol. I) - Dacca University
HGAI	- Historical Geography of Ancient India - B. C. Law
HI	- The History of India as told by its own Historians - Elliot and Dawson
HNEI	- History of North Eastern India - R. G. Basak
HO	- History of Orissa - R. D. Banerji
HPD	- History of the Paramara Dynasty - D. C. Ganguly
IA	- Indian Antiquary
IB	- Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, ed. by N. G. Mazumdar
IC	- Indian Culture
IHQ	- Indian Historical Quarterly
IMP	- Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency - V. Rangacharya
IS	- Indian Studies : Past & Present
JAHRS	- Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society
JAS	- Journal of the Asiatic Society
JASB	- Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JBORS	- Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
JPASB(NS)	- Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series)

JRASB - Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal
KS - Kāmarūpa-Śāsanāvali - Padmanath Bhattacharya
MES - Madras Epigraphical Report
MGOLS - Mysore Government Oriental Literature Series
ODBL - The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language - S. K. Chatterjee
OHRS - Orissa Historical Research Society
PHAI - Political History of Ancient India - H. C. Raychaudhuri
RC - Rāmacarita of Sandhyākara Nandi
SBE - Sacred Books of the East Series
SHAIB - Some Historical Aspects of the inscriptions of Bengal - B. C. Sen
SI - Select Inscriptions - D. C. Sircar
SIA - Studies in Indian Antiquities - H. C. Raychaudhuri
SN - Saṃyutta Nikāya
SPP - Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā, Calcutta
TIN - Tabāqāt-i-Nasirī - Raverty
Tṛkāṇḍaśeṣa - Tṛkāṇḍaśeṣa of Puraṣottamadeva
VJI - Vāṅglār Jātīya Itihāsa - N. Vasu
Watters - Yuan Chwang's Travels in India - T. Watters

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13	18	reclamed	reclaimed
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